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MEMOIRS

OF THE

LIFE and Miniſterial CONDUCT,

WITH

Some free REMARKS

ON THE

POLITICAL WRITINGS,

Of the LATE

LORD Viſc. *Bolingbroke.*

DUBLIN:

Printed for J. EXSHAW, on *Cork-hill*, R. JAMES and R. MAIN in *Dame-ſtreet*, Bookſellers.

M,DCC,LIII.

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there

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it.

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LET-

LETTER I.

Honeſtiſſimum enim eſt majorum veſtigia ſequi, ſi modo recto itinere præceſſerint. PLIN. Lib. V. Epiſt. 4.

The firſt Thing to be conſidered in the Memoirs of a great Man, is his Family. That of St. John *more ancient than the* Norman *Conqueſt. Titles of Honour frequent therein long before our Times, and the ancient Barony of* Bletſho *remaining. The Royal Houſe of* Tuther *or* Tudor, *and the Family of* St. John *deſcended from the ſame Lady. The Lord* St. John *killed on the Side of the Parliament, and three Brothers of the ſame Family, in the King's Service, during the civil War. Few Families more numerous or more flouriſhing than this. How the Branch of* St. John *of* Batterſea *is related to the Head of this Family. Deduction from this Inquiry.*

THERE is nothing more natural, or more laudable, than for a Perſon of your Rank, Age and Education to be deſirous of ſeeing a Work on ſo important a Subject as the *Uſe* of *Hiſtory*, written by an Author whoſe Reputation is ſo great as a Stateſman, a Philoſopher and a Man of ſublime Senſe, joined

with practical Talents; all which rendered him equally able to direct others with Dignity, and to dispatch the most difficult Affairs with much Facility to himself. Such a Work falling from the Pen of such a Man might well raise your Curiosity; and the History of him, and of his Writings, which I am on the Point of giving you, if not ably, at least impartially, will as well deserve your serious Attention. It may not, indeed, be worthy of the Subject; for a compleat Life of the late Lord *Bolingbroke*, (so he wrote it) is, perhaps, what he alone could execute; but I dare assert it will answer all your Queries, hinder you from appearing ignorant to others, whose Curiosity may be, also, awakened, or from being liable to Imposition in your further Enquiries. In short, it will tell you what I know in the Language of Sincerity and Truth.

THE first Thing to be considered when we speak of a Man of Quality, is his Family. For how lightly soever some great and in other Respects wise Men may treat it, yet search Things to the Bottom, and you will find, that no Man in an elevated Station despises Birth, but one, who is conscious to himself, that he is deficient in that Point.

Merit

Merit may indeed ſupply the Want of Birth, ſo far as to deſerve Eſteem; but where Merit and Birth unite, they claim not Eſteem only, but Reſpect, and this from all Ranks. An Obſervation ſo much the more neceſſary, as you have heard this great Man treated as the Inferior of ſome whom you have mentioned, as a new Man in Point of Title; and as one who ſometimes aſſumed rather too much on this Head amongſt Foreigners, who could not be the proper Judges of that Deference to which he pretended.

THERE are, to ſpeak ingenuouſly and impartially, few or none of thoſe Characteriſtic Marks of Diſtinction, ſettled by the Uſage of all civilized and polite Nations, in reſpect to Families, that may not with great Truth and Juſtice be aſcribed to this of SAINT JOHN, and that in a very eminent Degree. To ſet this in a clear Light, let us firſt conſider what theſe Characteriſtics are; and that we may keep within ſome Bounds upon ſo copious a Topic, we will reſtrain them to five the moſt conſpicuous, and the leaſt diſputed. Theſe are Antiquity, ſupported by a clear Deſcent; Dignity, ariſing from Titles of Honour; Splendour, ſpringing jointly from Circumſtances of Merit and

Fortune; Power, with which such Advantages must be attended; and large Possessions, to which the foregoing Circumstances are commonly united.

IN reference to Antiquity, there is the fabulous and the historic. The former flowing from Tradition and the Rumour of Things beyond Memory, to which sovereign Houses commonly pretend, and to whom it ought to be left by those who carry their Claim no higher than Nobility. The latter is founded in Evidence; and the clearer that Evidence is, the better the Title. By these Marks the Respect due to Family must be ascertained, if by any.

THIS Family derives its first Testimony from the most ancient of our Authorities. The *Doomsday-book* shews that the PORTS were Lords of *Basing*, in *Hampshire*, before the Conquest. The Roll of *Battle-Abbey* acquaints us, that *William de St. John* was Quarter-Master-General of the Army of *William* Duke of *Normandy*, when he acquired the Crown of *England* by the Victory at *Hastings*. This *William de St. John* was the Father of *Thomas* and *John*. The younger Brother was one of those twelve Knights, who, in the Reign of *William Rufus*, made an Expedition against the *Welch*, by

by which he acquired the Caſtle of *Falmont*, in *Glamorganſhire*. In Proceſs of Time he became poſſeſſed of the Lands granted to the Family in *England*, and particularly of *Stanton*, in *Oxfordſhire*, in *Bullington* Hundred, five Miles North-Eaſt of *Oxford*, and diſtinguiſhed by the Addition of *St. John*, as another *Stanton* in the ſame County is by the Name of *Harcourt*, as belonging to the Anceſtors of that noble Family. Theſe Lands deſcended to *Mabil*, who married *Adam de Port*, the Head of whoſe Barony was at *Baſing*, and whoſe Anceſtor was Proprietor of twenty-five Lordſhips beſide at the Conqueſt. Yet his chief Heir Male, *William*, thought fit to aſſume the Surname of *St. John*, and accordingly wrote himſelf *Willielmus de Sancto Johanne, filius & hæres Adæ de Port*. Theſe are Facts that ſtand upon the ſecureſt Baſis, that of Record; and, therefore, the Antiquity of this Family is in no Danger of being controverted.

TITLES of Dignity, as connected with Property, were in this Family before it appeared in our Records; for the *Ports* were great Barons before the Conqueſt, and the *St. John's* became ſo in virtue of it. *William St. John*, before-mentioned, was Sheriff of the County of *Southampton* in the ſixteenth and ſeventeenth of King *John*. His

Grandſon *John*, in the Life-time of his Father, was ſummoned to Parliament, the twenty-eighth of *Edward* the Firſt, by the Name of *John St. John*, junior, as Baron of *Baſing*. About the ſame Time there was a Baron of the ſame Name and Family, who was alſo ſummoned to Parliament, and diſtinguiſhed by the Title of *St. John* of *Barton*, in *Oxfordſhire*. The learned *Dugdale* makes him a different Perſon from *John St. John* of *Lageham*, who was likewiſe ſummoned to Parliament in the twenty-fifth of *Edward* the Firſt; but it ſeems from certain Circumſtances that he might be the ſame; and if ſo, he muſt have been one of thoſe nine Perſons, who, after the Battle of *Lewes*, were appointed by the victorious Barons a Kind of Council of State; but in ſucceeding Reigns his Poſterity were not ſummoned to Parliament. Sir *Oliver St. John*, in the Reign of *Henry* the Sixth, obtained the Lordſhip of *Bletſho*, with the Manor of *Ledyard Tregoze*, and various other Lands by the Marriage of *Margaret*, Siſter and ſole Heireſs of Sir *John Beuchamp*, of the Family of the old Earls of *Warwick*. His great Grandſon *Oliver St. John*, Eſq; was by Letters Patents, dated in the firſt Year of the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, advanced

vanced to the Title of Baron *St. John* of *Bletſho*; and his Grandſon, whoſe Name was *Oliver* likewiſe, was in the twenty-ſecond Year of *James* the Firſt created Earl of *Bolenbroke*, which Title remained in his Family within our Memory; *Paulet St. John*, the laſt Earl of *Bolingbroke*, dying on the fifth of *October*, 1711. But the Barony of *St. John* of *Bletſho* ſtill ſubſiſts. Beſides theſe, there have been later Honours in this Family; for *Oliver St. John*, a younger Son of a Branch of the *Bolingbroke* Family, was created by King *James* the Firſt, Viſcount *Grandiſon* of *Limerick*, in the Kingdom of *Ireland*, and by King *Charles* the Firſt Baron of *Tregoze*, in the County of *Wilts*, in *England*. He died without Iſſue, and ſo the Barony became extinct; but the Title of Viſcount *Grandiſon*, being limited to the Iſſue of Sir *Edward Villiers*, Knight, by *Barbara St. John*, Niece to *Oliver* Lord Viſcount *Grandiſon*, that Honour remains ſtill in the Family of *Villiers*. All this ſhews that Titles were familiar to the Line of *St. John*, long before our Times.

In Point of Splendour, there cannot be any Thing more remarkable, than that both the Families of *Bletſho* and *Tregoze* were

founded by the Children, by her firſt Marriage, of that Lady *Margaret*, who, being the Widow of their Father, married *John Beaufort*, Duke of *Somerſet*, and had by him the Lady *Margaret*, Counteſs of *Richmond*, Mother to King *Henry* the Seventh, who derived from her whatever Title he had from the Line of *Lancaſter*. This *Margaret*, Counteſs of *Richmond*, was the Foundreſs of *Chriſt*'s and *St. John*'s Colleges in *Cambridge*, and appointed Sir *John St. John*, her Mother's Grandſon, by her ſecond Son, *Oliver St. John*, Eſq; to whom ſhe had given her Manor of *Ledyard Tregoze*, one of her Executors, who acquired no ſmall Honour by that Firmneſs and Integrity with which he executed his Truſt. His Grandſon, *Oliver*, was a Student in one of the Inns of Court, and having unfortunately a Quarrel with Mr. *Beſt*, Captain of the Guard to Queen *Elizabeth*, he killed him in a Duel, for which he was obliged to leave the Kingdom, ſerved in the *Low-Country* Wars, under Sir *Francis* and Sir *Horatio Vere*, received the Honour of Knighthood, and was then ſent with his Regiment into *Ireland*, became Preſident of *Munſter*, Vice Preſident of *Connaught*, and Maſter of the Ordnance; at length, *April* 3, 1616, he was appointed Lord Deputy

puty of that Kingdom, which expoſed him to much Envy; but after his Conduct, at his own Requeſt, had been ſtrictly examined, his Royal Maſter, King *James*, pronounced his *Reputation without Blemiſh*, and created him, ſome Years afterwards, Viſcount *Grandiſon*. It would be an eaſy Matter to mention many other Perſons of diſtinguiſhed Merit of the Name of *St. John*, but that would be beſide my Purpoſe, and intruding on the Province of Heralds and Hiſtorians, who have already recorded them with the Praiſes they deſerved.

THAT unfortunate civil War, which was the Diſgrace of the laſt Century, and the bitter Effects of which have been felt in this, was a great Criterion of the Power of Families; ſince there was hardly one in any Degree conſpicuous in this Iſland, which did not act either as Aggreſſors with the Parliament, or in Defence of the King. Many were divided in this Quarrel, as will be always the Caſe in ſuch Quarrels, which God avert! and fought on both Sides. A very ſtrong Inſtance of this we have in the *St. John's*; for not to mention one who had too much Hand in contriving and executing the political Schemes that at length plunged this

Nation in Blood, the Earl of *Bolingbroke* was from the Beginning very warm and zealous for the Parliament, and ſo was his Son, the Lord *St. John* of *Bletſho*, whom the King had called by Writ into the Houſe of Peers, and to whom the Parliament gave a Commiſſion to raiſe a Troop of Horſe; at the Head of which he was preſent in the Army of the Earl of *Eſſex*, at the firſt Battle of *Edge-hill*, and was the only Perſon of Diſtinction killed on that Side. On the other, Sir *John St. John* of *Ledyard Tregoze*, the Nephew of *Oliver*, Lord Viſcount *Grandiſon*, to whom he left his Eſtate at *Batterſea* and *Wandſworth*, and himſelf a Baronet, ſo created *May* 22, 1611, had no leſs than three Sons killed in the King's Service; *viz. William*, his ſecond Son, under Prince *Rupert*, at the taking of *Cirenceſter* in *Glouceſterſhire*; *Edward*, his third Son, in the Battle of *Newbury*; and *John*, his fifth Son, in the Army under the Command of the Marquis of *Newcaſtle* in the *North*. To all theſe Marks of Grandeur we may very ſafely add that of Poſſeſſions, which is the laſt Characteriſtic we mentioned.

FEW, very few Families of equal Note in this Kingdom have been ſo numerous as the

St.

St. John's; and yet almoſt all the Branches of the Family were bleſſed with competent, ſeveral of them with large and opulent Eſtates: The Barony of *Bletſho* devolved, on the Extinction of the Earldom, upon *St. Andrew St. John*, Baronet; the Lord Viſcount *St. John* was alſo a Baronet, and had a great Eſtate when that Title was conferred upon him by the late King, who likewiſe created *Francis St. John*, Eſq; of *Longthorp*, in *Northamptonſhire*, a Baronet, and there are yet ſeveral Gentlemen of very ancient Families, and very conſiderable Fortunes diſperſed through the midland Counties of *England*; ſome of whom are deſcended from, and have in their Poſſeſſion, Manors that were in the Hands of the old *St. John's*, of *Baſing* and *Barton*, once ſo conſiderable by their extenſive Properties in *Hampſhire* and *Oxfordſhire*. when Property and Power were always conjoined.

As to the immediate and direct Family of the late Lord *Bolingbroke*, it was connected with thoſe ancient Lines of which I have been ſpeaking, thus. *Nicholas St. John*, of *Ledyard Tregoze*, Eſq; was great Grandſon of *Oliver St. John*, Eſq; the younger Son of *Margaret*,

Margaret, Ducheſs of *Somerſet*. He eſpouſed *Elizabeth*, Daughter to Sir *Richard Blunt*, of *Maple-Durham*, and by her had Iſſue, two Sons, *John* and *Oliver*, who, as we have already ſeen, was created Viſcount *Grandiſon*, and Baron of *St. John* of *Tregoze*. *John* the elder Brother was knighted, and married *Lucy*, Daughter and Heir to Sir *Walter Hungerford*, of *Farley*, in the County of *Wilts*, by whom he had an only Son and many Daughters. This Son of his, Sir *John St. John*, was created a Baronet at the firſt Inſtitution of the Order; he married *Anne*, Daughter to Sir *Thomas Leighton*, of *Feckenham*, in the County of *Worceſter*, by whom he had one Daughter, *Anne*, married to Sir *Francis Henry Lea*, from whom the Earls of *Litchfield* are deſcended, and a ſecond Time to *Henry Wilmot*, Earl of *Rocheſter*; and ſeven Sons. Of theſe *Oliver* the eldeſt married *Catharine*, Daughter and Co-heir of *Horatio Vere*, Baron of *Tilbury*; three other Sons were killed, as we have before obſerved, in the civil War; the fourth died before his Father: The Name of the ſixth was *Walter*, and of the youngeſt *Henry*.

OLIVER

OLIVER St. John, Eſq; died in the Life-time of his Father, leaving by his Lady, beforementioned, an only Son, who ſucceeded his Grandfather in his Title and Eſtate, and was the ſecond Sir *John St. John* of *Ledyard Tregoze* and *Batterſea*, Baronet; but dying before he was of Age, unmarried, his Uncle became Heir to the Honour and Eſtates. This was Sir *Walter St. John*, Baronet, who married *Johanna*, one of the Daughters of the Lord Chief Juſtice *St. John*; as his youngeſt Brother *Henry* did another, whoſe Name was *Catharine*, by whom he had an only Daughter, *Anne*, who eſpouſed *Anthony Bowyer*, of *Camberwell*, in the County of *Surrey*, Eſq. This Sir *Walter St. John* and his Lady were Perſons very remarkable for ſincere Piety; and though very zealous for the Proteſtant Religion, were very far from being ſuch Bigots to Puritaniſm as ſome have repreſented them. The very learned and judicious Dr. *Simon Patrick*, ſucceſſively Biſhop of *Chicheſter* and of *Ely*, who was long their Chaplain, and lived many Years in their Family, always ſpoke of them with the higheſt Reverence as well as Gratitude, and gave publick Proofs of both in the Dedication of one of his learned

learned Treatiſes. Sir *Walter* repreſented the County of *Wilts* in two Parliaments in the Reign of King *Charles* the Second, and had the ſame Honour in the ſecond Parliament, held by King *William*. He died in the eighty-ſeventh Year of his Age, *July* the 3d, 1708, and was interred in his own Pariſh Church near the Seat of his Family at *Batterſea*, univerſally lamented, but more eſpecially by the Poor, to whom he was very charitable. He had Iſſue by his Lady one Son, *Henry*, and one Daughter, *Barbara*, who married Sir *John Top*, Baronet. He enjoyed to the Time of his Demiſe a beneficial Office in the Law, given him by his Father-in-Law the Chief Juſtice.

SIR *Henry St. John*, his Son, married firſt the Lady *Mary*, ſecond Daughter and Coheireſs of *Robert Rich*, Earl of *Warwick*, by whom he had only one Son, *Henry*, who is the Subject of theſe Letters; and, ſecondly, a *French* Lady, from whom deſcends the preſent Viſcount *St. John* of *Batterſea*. Thus I have conducted you through the genealogical Hiſtory of this great Man, which will enable you to diſcern the Miſtakes of thoſe who have ſuggeſted, that the Title of *Bolingbroke* was only reſtored to his Family

mily by the Queen; for you will perceive, that it was never in this Branch of the *St. John's* at all, though that of the Barony of *Tregoze*, which he likewiſe had, really was. You will likewiſe diſcern, that though he deſcended from the Chief Juſtice *St. John*, yet it was not in the Senſe that you have been told; and you will alſo ſee that his Grandfather did not only live to have the Pleaſure of beholding him a very eminent Member of the Houſe of Commons, and when firſt employed in the Miniſtry as Secretary at War and of the Marines; but alſo to ſee him reſign theſe Offices, which will ſatisfy you they are in the wrong, who have ſuppoſed that he did not differ with Queen *Anne*'s firſt Miniſtry, till he was in no Danger of diſpleaſing ſo near a Relation, to whom he was always very dear, and who had been particularly careful of his Education, and of the Manner in which he made his firſt Appearance in the World, as I ſhall hereafter, perhaps, acquaint you more at large.

You will diſcover, from what has been already ſaid, how much it becomes a Lover of Truth to be upon his Guard, even in reſpect to Things that may be eaſily known, and which from thence one would imagine none

none would attempt to falſify or miſrepreſent. Yet ſo it falls out, that the higher a Man's Fame is, the more it is ſubject to theſe Kind of Injuries. For as there are few who care to ſay plainly, that they know little or nothing of ſuch a Perſon's Family; they are apt to diſguiſe their Ignorance, by aſſerting whatever occurs to their Memory, and, perhaps, endeavour to help that by Conjectures. Such Impoſitions may the more eaſily paſs upon you, as in a foreign Country you cannot have Recourſe to ſuch Helps as might, and ought ever to be in your Power at Home. Theſe erroneous Notions once ſettled, you would find it hard to remove, as not ſuſpecting them to be erroneous: And therefore, I hope, the Pains taken on this Head will be acceptable and even agreeable, which will abundantly recompence the little Labour taken by one who is with Affection and Eſteem, &c.

LET-

LETTER II.

Hoc Patrium eſt, potius conſuefacere filium
Sua ſponte rectè facere, quam alieno metu.
Hoc Pater ac Dominus intereſt: hoc qui nequit,
Fateatur ſe neſcire imperare liberis.

Terent. Adelph.

Happy in having two Fathers to ſuperintend his Education. Improbable that he was bred in Diſſenting Principles. Firſt brought up at Eaton, *then at* Oxford. *Diſtinguiſhed early by his ſurprizing Parts, which were never impaired through his whole Life. Bleſſed with Faculties that ſeem oppoſite and incompatible. His firſt Friendſhips ſhew he was in the Dawn of Life inclined to the Tories. His Youth not exempt from Follies, and what they were. Marries the Daughter and Coheireſs of Sir* Henry Wincheſcomb, *deſcended from* Jack *of* Newbury. *Is elected Burgeſs for* Wotton Baſſett, *in the County of* Wilts. *Neceſſity of forming a right Judgment of Parties.*

AS in my former I have endeavoured to give you a juſt Notion of his Family, ſo in this, I ſhall with the ſame Impartiality

tiality ſpeak of his Education, and Manner of coming into the World, in Reſpect to which, I find you are likewiſe under ſome Difficulties. About the Cloſe of the laſt *Dutch* War, in the Reign of *Charles* the Second, Mr. *Henry St. John* was born, and as it was a very great Comfort to Sir *Walter* to ſee his Son's Heir Apparent formed under his Eye, while he ſtill enjoyed a firm State of Health, and the full Exerciſe of all his Faculties; ſo it was the peculiar Felicity of young Mr. *St. John*, that not only his Education, and his firſt Settlement in the World, but even his firſt Entrance into publick Buſineſs, was under the Care and Inſpection of two Fathers, both Men of Character and Worth, and who had trod before him thoſe Paths, into which he was introduced, not by Dint of Money, or by his or their Dependance upon Men in Power, but by their natural Intereſt in their Country; Sir *Walter St. John*, and his Son *Henry St. John*, Eſq; having been both of them Knights of the Shire for the County of *Wilts*, and the latter very often Burgeſs for *Wotton Baſſett*, when the former ſat for the County.

How

How common ſoever the Reports may have been, which you have heard, or upon whatever Authorities grounded; there is, in Fact, no Reaſon to believe that he was bred up in Diſſenting Principles; or with a particular Spleen to the Church, which made the Zeal he afterwards expreſſed for it, appear not only very extravagant, but a little unnatural. I do not ſay, that the Gentleman who told you this ſpoke without Book; but I have good Grounds to believe, as I really do, that what he ſaid was without Truth. The Pariſh Records, if I am rightly informed, at *Batterſea*, will ſhew that Sir *Walter St. John* was a thorough, though a moderate Churchman, by almoſt every Kind of Teſtimony. He repaired that Fabric more than once, erected, in Virtue of a Faculty from the Biſhop, an intire new Gallery, and built and endowed a Charity-School, all at his own Expence. But, ſays a certain Writer, Mr. *Henry St. John*, the younger, was well lectured by his Grandmother and her Confeſſor, Mr. *Daniel Burgeſs*, in the Preſbyterian Way. It is true, indeed, that his Grandmother lived to 1704; but if I miſtake not, ſhe was a Contributor likewiſe to the Charity-School beforementioned, was a great

a great Patroneſs to Dr. *Simon Patrick*; who in the earlier Part of his Life, wrote a Book which gave great Offence to the Non-conformiſts: And as to her Father, the Chief Juſtice *St. John*, whatever his religious Principles were, he was no Bigot, ſince he preſerved the Cathedral Church of *Peterborough*, when nobody elſe could have preſerved it, that is, when *Oliver Cromwell* importuned the Parliament for a Grant of it, in conſideration of his Services; and as to *Daniel Burgeſs*, I doubt, it is not very certain that he was a Preſbyterian, though a Diſſenter he certainly was; but a Man of more Wit and Parts than him who gives us this Intelligence; and, therefore, I conclude that theſe Lectures, if Mr. *St. John* really received any ſuch, could not give him any Sourneſs in reſpect to the eſtabliſhed Church, though they might have been employed in impreſſing very ſtrongly, on his tender Mind, the firſt Notions of the Chriſtian Faith; and it would have been well for him, if they had ſunk deeper, and laſted longer than they did.

BUT whatever occaſional Informations or Inſtructions he might receive from his Grandmother

Grandmother or her Friends, it is very certain that he had a regular and liberal Education, and having paſſed through *Eaton* School was removed to *Oxford*, where it may be fairly inferred from the Company he kept, and the Friendſhips he made, many of which ſubſiſted in their full Strength, after he became very conſpicuous in the World, that he ſoon rubbed off the Ruſt of Puritaniſm, if, indeed, he ever contracted it. This is not ſaid with a View of reflecting upon any Set of People, but merely to prevent your being miſled in a Point of Fact, by thoſe who would miſrepreſent Mr. *St. John* as fickle or falſe in the Beginning; haſty in eſpouſing Notions, and as haſty in deſerting them: Things eaſily advanced, and by the dexterous Application of a few favourable Circumſtances without Difficulty propagated, but which can hardly be received as Facts, if we conſider how eaſily thoſe, who are ſaid to have lectured him in his Youth, could have hindered his going to *Oxford*, and how little it was conſiſtent with their Lectures to ſend him thither. But as this is a Point of no very great Conſequence, I ſhall not preſs it any farther.

BY that Time he left the Univerſity, Mr. *St. John* was deſervedly conſidered as one who had the faireſt Opportunities of making a ſhining Figure in the World. He was in his Perſon wonderfully agreeable, he had a Dignity mixed with Sweetneſs in his Looks, and a Manner that would have captivated the Heart, if his Perſon had been ever ſo indifferent; he was remarkable for his Vivacity, and had a prodigious Memory. Whatever he read he retained, and that in a very ſingular Manner, for he made it intirely his own; and whether he was to ſpeak, or to write upon any Subject, all he had ever read in his favourite Authors occurred to him juſt as he had read it; ſo that he delivered this in Converſation, or threw it upon Paper, as if he had the Book in his Hand; a Circumſtance that it imports you to know, for otherwiſe you will frequently take for ſtudied Affectation what was to him, and, perhaps, only him, perfectly natural. In the earlier Part of his Life he did not read much, or at leaſt many Books, for which he ſometimes gave the ſame Reaſon that *Menage* did for not reading *Moreri*'s Dictionary, that he was unwilling to fill his Head with what did

not

not deſerve a Place there, ſince when it was once in, he knew not how to get it out again. In the ſucceeding Part of his Life, when he had more Leiſure, a greater Part of his Time was employed in reading, but ſtill with much Caution; and he frequently complained of that Neceſſity, which aroſe from political Controverſy, of being obliged to peruſe a Multitude of miſerable Performances. He had great Quickneſs and Penetration, could very happily diſtinguiſh the real from the apparent View of polemical Writers, and had a Sprightlineſs and a Perſpicuity in delivering his own Opinions, which was ſure to entertain even thoſe he did not convince. Theſe were Qualities that did not only adorn his juvenile Years, but grew up and kept him company through all Stations, and under all Circumſtances; to which may be in ſome Meaſure attributed his being always well received, and quickly gaining an Aſcendancy wherever he came. But though theſe were very great, yet they were not his only Talents: He was bleſſed with Parts, and with Parts of different Kinds, even ſuch as the Generality of the World are apt to conſider as incompatible, at leaſt,

leaſt, till Experience convinces them of the Contrary.

HIS Quickneſs, his Penetration, his Vivacity, were accompanied with a great Solidity of Judgment, and even with a Subtility of thinking and reaſoning, which are Qualities that ſeem to be the peculiar Privileges of another Caſt of Mind. Yet they were certainly his. In his Youth he was, perhaps, not very much given to Reflection. There were Seaſons, however, in which, and Subjects upon which, he would even then reflect. Whenever, he did this, there was nothing could eſcape him. He ſaw the *fort*, and he ſaw the *foible* of whatever he was to maintain, or to refute; and he had an inconceivable Dexterity in diſplaying, or concealing, whatever he was inclined to make apparent, or to hide. The great Earl of *Strafford* is ſaid to have made uſe of the Works of a celebrated *Popiſh* Author to help him in making Diſtinctions. Mr. *St. John* wanted no ſuch Help. He poſſeſſed it, in that Faculty of reflecting, and after a little Thought, was able to treat any Subject in ſo new and ſingular a Way, that it ſeemed to be perfectly changed by his Method of managing it,

it, ſo as to become ſuſceptible of new Arguments in its Favour, and to be no longer liable to thoſe Objections with which it had been formerly oppoſed. His Peculiarity of thinking had not that Imperfection with which Peculiarity of thinking is commonly attended. It did not at all affect his Manner of ſpeaking, which was eaſy, natural and flowing, and in this too, he very much reſembled the Earl of *Strafford*; for however ſtrong his Thoughts, however nice and refined his Diſtinctions, his Language was always perfectly intelligible; and though upon Recollection, his Words appeared to be very artfully choſen, yet in the Courſe of his Delivery, they ſeemed to be ſuch as offered themſelves, and the firſt that roſe in his Mind. He had, as I obſerved before, Pauſes of Reflection; but when once his Thoughts came to be cloathed in Words there was no Heſitation, but the Diſcourſe rolled on like a Stream from a perennial Spring; ſtrong, full, clear, and filling equally the Ear and Mind; for the Sound and Senſe were ſo happily united, that you never diſcovered trivial Sentiments veiled in elegant Expreſſions, or were able to diſcern that the Sublimity

of his Conceptions ſuffered through any Want of Elocution in their Conveyance.

HIS early Taſte of Literature was not accompanied with that Forwardneſs, which young Men are too apt to ſhew, in diſplaying their own Parts. His firſt Turn was to Poetry, as appears from a Copy of Verſes of his to Mr. *Dryden*, and ſome other Compoſitions; which, though not at all beneath him, for the Time in which they were wrote, he did not afterwards eſteem. It is obſerved by Mr. *Pope*, and very juſtly obſerved, that he was the Patron, the Friend and the Protector of that great Poet beforementioned in the Decline of his Age, though not of his Parts, for the very laſt Poems of Mr. *Dryden* are amongſt his beſt. This too is a convincing Proof that he was not affected with Puritaniſm in his Youth. If he had, he would not have ſought, or have reliſhed, Mr. *Dryden*'s Converſation, he would not have entered, as he did, into Familiarities with a certain Set of Men; who, whatever other Blemiſhes they might have, were without Queſtion free from that. Indeed his Humour was ſo entirely removed from Stiffneſs, Formality, or Moroſeneſs, or rather was ſo much the Oppoſite of theſe, that we cannot but conſider what ſome malevolent Critics

tics have inſinuated of this Kind, as Fictions that took Birth from Conjecture, and ought, therefore, to be buried in Oblivion. He was, indeed, from his Youth very unconfined in his Choice of Company. This aroſe from a Variety of Motives, ſome of them, perhaps, excuſable only in a young Man. But whatever Motives they aroſe from, they were of Uſe to him, for every Thing was ſo, that he ſaw or heard; and if it was not ſo for the preſent, yet it dwelt upon his Memory till ſome fit Occaſion called it out, and then, at whatever Diſtance of Time, he could produce it with all its Circumſtances, as if it happened but the Day before. He was for this Reaſon more improved by the good, and leſs hurt by the bad Company he kept. He ſifted in his Hours of Leiſure, Expreſſions, Accidents, Events, and what eſcaped others without thinking, was to him very frequently Matter of Thought, from which he extracted much more than ever occured to themſelves. He had an Excellency in improving Hints that for a Time gave the higheſt Pleaſure, but in the End no leſs Pain to a certain Great Man, who loved Obſcurity too much, and could not bear at his Elbow one who was not only able to explain his Thoughts, when that was what he wiſhed,

but to penetrate what he took the greateſt Pains to conceal.

THERE is no Deſign, after all this, to perſuade you that Mr. *St. John* was ſomething more than Man, or that in his Youth he had none of thoſe Failings, or fell into none of thoſe Indiſcretions which are ſo common with young Men. The Truth is, and it is fit you ſhould know it, that his Character was in this Period of his Life expoſed thro' great Blemiſhes, that is, from Libertiniſm in a very high Degree. He was much addicted to Women, was apt to indulge himſelf in late Hours, with all thoſe Exceſſes that uſually attend them. Theſe were his Failings; they have been publiſhed by his Enemies; the warmeſt of his Admirers cannot deny they were ſo, but with all theſe Failings, his Genius and his Underſtanding were great. Had he been free from them, however they would have ſeemed, and they would have been much greater, but even this Diminution of Mr. *St. John*'s Fame, if duly conſidered, may be a Help to your own. Parts are ſo far from excuſing, that they expoſe Follies. Weakneſſes in weak Men are Nature, but the Foibles of Men diſtinguiſhed by their Abilities, as they can hardly be concealed,

ſo

ſo they can never be forgiven. It is a trite, but very trivial Apology that is commonly made upon theſe Occaſions. Youth is the Seaſon of Pleaſure, and grave Thoughts come Time enough with grey Hairs. But what becomes all this Time of that Pregnancy of Wit which conſtitutes a firſt-rate Genius? It is ſeen in a Poem, it animates a Speech, it flaſhes in a *bon Mot*, or it glitters in a Reply. But the great Buſineſs of a rational Mind is the Conduct of Life, the Glory of a ſuperior Mind is to be bright and ſteady like the Sun. It is a vain Thing to triumph on the Poſſeſſion of what we don't uſe. Miſers may as well boaſt of their Feaſts, which are prodigal to a Proverb, as Men of Genius of their lucid Intervals. The Power of Wiſdom is a poor Thing if it is not employed: Men of moderate Capacities may plead, that Occaſions call them to the Performance of Taſks to which they are unequal; but it is a diſmal Reflection, that where Nature has made Men fit for all Things, they by their own Faults make wide Chaſms in Life in which they are fit for nothing, or at leaſt are fit only, like other Criminals, to be hung up for Examples, to fright others who are like them in ſome Reſpects from being like them in

all. — You will think these Remarks tedious. — But think of them what you will — Only do not forget them — Your Modesty may tempt you to say, My Parts are not on a Level with *St. John*'s. — It may be so. — But you may easily resemble him in his Follies.

WHATEVER Discredit these Escapes from Morals and good Sense might bring upon him, they did great Honour to his Parents, who, though they had it always in their Power, yet would not produce him on the Stage of publick Life till every Method had been tried, and till a sufficient Time had been allowed to wear them, in some measure at least, away. But as soon as these Gusts seemed to be blown over, they procured him a Settlement in all Respects suitable to his Birth and Expectations, and married him to the Daughter and Coheiress, as I take it, of Sir *Henry Wincheſcomb*, of *Bucklebury*, in the County of *Berks*, Baronet; a Gentleman of a very fair Fortune, which descended to him from a Person famous in our old Story by the familiar Name of *Jack of Newbury*. Such as pique themselves on a graver Stile, would tell you that Mr. *John Wincheſcomb* was a Clothier

Clothier of that Town in the Reign of *Henry* the Eighth, that in thoſe Days he kept an Hundred Looms; and that to ſhew his Duty to his King, and his Love for his Country, he marched with an Hundred of his Workmen, well cloathed at his own Expence, to *Flodden-Field*; and content with the Glory of having had a Share in that Victory, which coſt the King of *Scots* his Life, returned with his little Army to his native Town, and quitting the Poſt of Captain reſumed that of Citizen. He too, by the Way, was a Benefactor to the Church; and as the People of *Newbury* formerly ſhewed his Houſe, ſo they ſtill point to the Pulpit and the Tower which were of his erecting. Upon this Marriage a large Settlement was made, the good Effects of which he felt in his old Age, though a great Part of what his Lady brought him was taken from him in conſequence of his Attainder.

THE very ſame Year he was elected with *Henry Pynnel*, Eſq; for the Borough of *Wotton-Baſſet*, and ſat in the fifth Parliament of King *William* the Third, which met on the tenth of *February*, and in which *Robert Harley*, Eſq; was choſen, for the firſt

Time, Speaker. At this juncture Mr. *St. John* was about twenty-six Years of Age, and might be presumed to take his Seat in the *English* Senate, with as many Advantages as almost any Gentleman that sat there; and this being considered, you cannot pay any great Regard to the Stories you have been told of his being introduced to Places and Power by this or that great Man. He was not called to Employment hastily, he had Time to distinguish, and make himself known; and therefore, when he arrived at an Employment we may presume that he deserved it, or that he acquired it, as in those Days most People did, in Virtue of his Connections; which however, as you will hereafter see, were with such People as could not by any Means look upon him as their Dependant.

BUT to give you a just Notion of this Matter, and that your Mind may be guarded against those Prejudices which are so early, and so assiduously infused into young People, I must take the Liberty of discoursing largely upon Parties, yet without entering into any Detail of their Principles; because I pretend to shew you, that these are of no more Consequence than Field-Marks

Marks in a Day of Battle; ſo that it is not the quitting, but the being of a Party that is ſcandalous. To ſhift from Faction to Faction is inexcuſable and infamous. A Man may be no worſe than a Fool who adheres to one Faction all his Life; but he who ſhifts from Side to Side, inſtead of keeping in the Middle, as he ought, can be very little better than a Knave, let his Family, his Faculties, his Fortune, be what they will, ſince all theſe are but accidental Advantages, for the Poſſeſſion of which even this World will call him to an Account. The only genuine Claims to Character are an honeſt Heart, a candid Behaviour, public Spirit, clean Hands, and a Conduct invariably upright, for all which, or rather from all which I moſt ardently wiſh to ſee you diſtinguiſhed, and would therefore contribute to it all I could.

LETTER III.

Non eſt magis vituperandus proditor Patriæ, quam communis Utilitatis aut Salutis deſertor, propter ſuam Utilitatem aut Salutem. *Cic.*

The real Meaning of the Words Party and Faction. Diſputes about liberty no way beneficial to the People. Title to the Crown a mere Cant-word of Faction. Religious Diſputes abuſed to the ſame End. Queen Elizabeth *governed by balancing Factions. Factions in Effect govern King* James. *How the Conſtitution was overturned by them in the Reign of* Charles I. *Succeſſion of Tyrannies weary the Nation into reſtoring it. Hiſtory of Faction during the Reign of* Charles II. *Digreſſion as to the Spirit of Animoſity againſt the* French. *Their Behaviour to the Royal Family in Exile. Cajole* Charles II. *into the Sale of* Dunkirk, *and then expoſe him. Deceive him, and exaſperate his Subjects till his Death. King* James II. *the Author of his own Misfortunes at Home and Abroad. Took his Inſtruments of Ill-adminiſtration out of both Parties. Revolution a temporary Suſpenſion of Parties which revive with freſh Vigour, and diſturb that whole Reign.*

Reign. Full Proof of this from the Proceedings on the Partition Treaties. Remarks upon thoſe Proceedings, and practical Concluſion of this Diſcourſe.

IT is far from being an eaſy Matter to ſtate to you, fairly and clearly, what the Words *Party* and *Faction* really mean; the utmoſt that it is in my Power to do is to tell you my own Sentiments of them, and then to lay before you the Evidence upon which my Notions are grounded. A Party then is, as I take it, a Set of Men connected together, in Virtue of their having, or, which in this Caſe is the ſame Thing, pretending to have the *private* Opinion with Reſpect to *public* Concerns; and while this is confined to Sentiment or Diſcourſe, without interfering with the Management of Affairs, I think it wears properly that Denomination; but when it proceeds further, and influences Mens Conduct, in any conſiderable Degree, it becomes *Faction*. In all ſuch Caſes there are revealed *Reaſons*, and a reſerved *Motive*. By revealed Reaſons, I mean a certain Set of plauſible Doctrine which may be ſtiled the *Creed* of the Party; but the reſerved Motive belongs to *Faction* only, and is the

THIRST of POWER. The Creeds of Parties vary like thoſe of Sects; but all Factions have the ſame Motive, which never implies more or leſs than a *Luſt* of *Dominion*, though they may be, and generally are, covered with the ſpecious Pretences of *Self-Denial*, and that Vehemence referred to *Zeal* for the *Public*, which flows in Fact from Avarice, Self-Intereſt, Reſentment and other *private Views*.

WHAT induced me to take up theſe Sentiments, was the Conſideration of our own Hiſtory, which appears to me from the Compariſon of Meaſures and Men to demonſtrate this beyond the Power of Denial, or even of Doubt. The firſt Diſputes after the Conqueſt, between the Crown and the Barons, were about *Liberty*, a Word often abuſed, and never more ſo than in thoſe Times, when the Condition of the People was not in the leaſt mended, whether the King or whether the Barons prevailed. They ſpent their Blood and Treaſure indeed very freely on both Sides, though in Reſpect to them, the Queſtion was ſimply this, *whoſe* Chain they ſhould wear.

THE Dethroning of *Richard* II. Introduced another plauſible Topic, which was that

that of *Title* to the *Crown*; but though this was preached up to gain ſuch as really thought there was ſomewhat in it, yet whenever the Chiefs of a Party could convert it into a a Faction, the reſerved Motive quickly appeared to be the real Rule of their Conduct, as is evident from the Behaviour of *Harry Hotſpur*, Archbiſhop *Scroop*, and the reſt of their Aſſociates, who had been forward enough in raiſing *Henry* of *Bolingbroke* to the Title of *Henry* the Fourth, for which they expected to govern him; but he taking upon him, as a King, to govern them, they queſtioned his Right to the Crown, and this being decided by Arms, he had the good Luck to kill ſome in the Field, and brought the reſt to the Block. The Debate about Title, however, was ſo favourable a Pretence, for ſuch as pretended to ſet a Colour of public Spirit upon private Views, that it was ſtill kept alive, as long as the Factions of *York* and *Lancaſter* rendered this fruitful Iſland a Field of Blood. But whatever Men of moderate Underſtandings might think, we can hardly believe that the Great meant any thing beyond making, or continuing themſelves ſuch. The famous Earl of *Warwick* was on both Sides. He firſt fought *Henry* the Sixth into a Priſon, then fought

fought to ſet him at Liberty, and died at laſt in the Defence of a mixed Quarrel; from a Deſign he had of blending the Titles, and yet reſerve more than *regal Power* to himſelf, which, whatever it had in it of Equity or Right, or whether it had the ſmalleſt Portion of either, had at leaſt this in it of Propriety, that it was his own, and he not only proved it by his Actions, but ſealed it with his Blood, that he would never adhere to any Title, or be quiet under any King, whom he could not direct. When *Richard*, Duke of *Glouceſter*, conceived a Project of becoming *Richard* the Third, the Duke of *Buckingham* entered into his Faction, but after his becoming ungrateful, that is, ungovernable, the Duke was ſharp-ſighted enough, though ſome ſay he uſed the Help of Epiſcopal Spectacles, to diſcern a juſt Title in the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, which Diſcovery coſt firſt his Life, and then the King's.

AT length even a diſputed Title became ſo thread-bare a Topic, that thoſe who aſpired to Power found it neceſſary to adopt a new Subject for Debate, and this was Religion, in which, the warmeſt Stickleſs on both Sides, were juſt as ſincere as they had been in

in their Loyalty. *Gardiner*, who was an able Man, and an excellent Politician, wrote, preached and acted for the King's Divorce, and againſt the Pope's Supremacy, in order to gain a Place in *Henry* the Eighth's Privy Council; but declared againſt the Divorce, and was the great Champion of Popery, when he became Chancellor and Prime-Miniſter to *Mary*. On the other Hand, *John Dudley*, Earl of *Warwick*, and Duke of *Northumberland*, who had been half a Proteſtant in the Reign of *Henry* the Eighth, and a zealous one in that of *Edward* the Sixth, died a Papiſt under *Mary*, for the Good of his Family, and that his Sons might have an Opportunity of practiſing the wiſe Leſſons he had taught them.

Our Kings were ſometimes made, and often over-ruled; but *Elizabeth* was the firſt *Engliſh* Monarch, who undertook to govern by Factions. It was a dangerous but it was a neceſſary Meaſure. She found them formed, and it was her Prudence to balance them. The Heads of thoſe Factions were able and enterprizing Men; but like the Heads of all Factions they kept their own Power conſtantly in View, and they made no Scruple of purſuing it, by different,

ferent, and even oppoſite Methods. *Robert*, Earl of *Leiceſter*, Son of *John* Duke of *Northumberland*, took up his Father's Religion and Politics, as he left them on the Scaffold: He was a Papiſt to pleaſe Queen *Mary*, and profeſſed great Reſpect for the *Spaniards*, that he might be in the good Graces of King *Philip*. In this Situation *Elizabeth* found him; he ſeemed to make a clear Turn at her Acceſſion, but in a little Time he came about again, ſtruck in with ſuch as were popiſhly affected, was in the Secret of the Duke of *Norfolk*'s Deſign of eſpouſing *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, and zealous for her being declared the Queen's Succeſſor. That Scheme failing, he reverſed his Father's Plan, put himſelf at the Head of the Puritans, and under that Pretence, had like to have made himſelf a Prince in *Holland*, where, *Cambden* ſays, he formed a Project of ſeizing the Prince of *Orange*; failing in that too, his Head was full of new Schemes, when ſurprized by Death, upon which the Remains of his Faction adhered to the Earl of *Eſſex*. The great Lord at the Head of the other Faction was ſuppoſed to have taken off the Head of the Duke of *Norfolk*, and avowed the taking off that of the Queen of *Scots*, yet reſolved

to

to ſecure the Succeſſion to her Son, which was accompliſhed by his own, who triumphed over the oppoſite Faction, gave Law, with little Ceremony, to his Royal Miſtreſs, which ſoon broke her Spirits, and at laſt her Heart.

In the Reign of King *James*, Parties were very early formed, which were quickly converted into Factions. He wanted the Art, he wanted the Spirit of his Predeceſſor; they were the Support of her Power, but the Bane of his. He was naturally pacific, and though this did not contribute much to the Glory, and, which is ſtranger, could not ſecure Quiet to his Adminiſtration, yet it was highly beneficial to his Subjects, who from thence were enabled to augment their Properties, and conſequently to augment their Power. He was jealous himſelf of his Prerogative, and thereby excited a Jealouſy of it in his People, tho' he never exerciſed it in any Degree comparable to his Predeceſſor, as will appear clearly, by comparing the Proceedings in her Parliaments, and in his. Thoſe Jealouſies ſerved to diſturb his Government, and made Way for a new Court Faction, which *Elizabeth* never wanted; theſe were

the

the Undertakers, who, upon Condition that their Terms were granted, promiſed to make fair Weather with his Parliaments, which Scheme however proved abortive, and in reality produced foul. He was preſſed on one Side to engage in a War for the Recovery of the *Palatinate*, and reſtrained on the other, from obtaining Satisfaction for the Inſults offered to his Subjects by the *Dutch*, in the *Eaſt-Indies*, and this by the very ſame Men. His Fears, and his falſe Politicks kept him in continual Diſquiet, and yet, if we credit *Sully*'s Memoirs, or *Raleigh*'s Diſcourſe of Parliaments, we ſhall find that he was not ignorant of his own Condition, or of the Arts by which he was ſometimes diſtreſſed by Faction, and almoſt always enſlaved. His Miſtakes were not only fatal to himſelf but his Son, and to his Subjects. He weakened the Prerogative, by claiming Rights which were not his; he expoſed this Weakneſs, by deſiſting from thoſe Claims whenever they came to be diſputed; and provoked Multitudes by pretending to abſolute Power, while at the ſame Time he was remiſs in the proper Exerciſe of that Power, which he had by Law, and which, wiſely managed, would have

have done more than the irregular Means he was inclined to uſe.

At the Acceſſion of *Charles* the Firſt, there were Factions within Doors and without, that is, in the Court and in the Country. The Favourite, *Buckingham*, lived in a State of War, ſupported by his Creatures, whom he paid out of the Crown Revenue, and covered by the Prerogative, which was conſtantly exerted in his Defence. The Language of the Party formed againſt him, was very plauſible, and their Conduct in purſuing him had been laudable, if it had been ſincere, that is, if they had meant nothing more than they pretended. Out of this Party the King took his next Miniſter, *Thomas*, Earl of *Strafford*, in Oppoſition to whom his old Aſſociates became an avowed and implacable Faction. That Nobleman was too wiſe not to incline to any Satisfaction they could aſk; but when he perceived that no Satisfaction could be given them, he recurred to what had preſerved his Predeceſſor, which however could not preſerve him, though it is probable his Maſter would have done it by a Compromiſe, if it had not been for the Death of the Earl of *Bedford*. The Nature of this

this Compromiſe, which is recorded at large by the noble Hiſtorian, is a Caſe in Point to my Purpoſe, and will ſhew you, by what trivial Accidents, and upon what ſlight Grounds, that Civil War was begun, which overturned the Conſtitution. The Breaking out of this War, which was the Work of Factions, was not likely to extinguiſh them. They continued in Parliament and at Court; the former had Friends at *Oxford*, and the latter did not want them at *London*, but they contributed only to widen the Breach, and inſtead of ſoftening to irritate both Parties. At length, a ſmall Number of Perſons having got Poſſeſſion of the Army, and having aſſumed the Name of a Senate, triumphed over the King, and the Nobility, and over the People, and their Friends; for thoſe who began the War were at the End of it as little conſidered, as thoſe againſt whom it was begun. The great Leaders, in the firſt Quarrel, are to be found amongſt the excluded Members, who were become Spectators, and ſome of them very ſorrowful Spectators, of that Scene of Ruin and Confuſion they had helped to bring on.

THE Monarchy overthrown, a new Form of Rule ſtarted up, which by an unaccountable Fatality was not only ſubverted by *Cromwell*, but all the great Things they did, during the little Time they laſted, are moſt falſly and unjuſtly aſcribed to him. The noble Writer I am going to put into your Hands, will tell you that *Cromwell* chaſtized the *Dutch*; but when or where did he chaſtize them? The *Dutch* War was in reality made by *Oliver St. John*, in Reſentment of the ill Uſage he received, or thought he had received, in *Holland*; it was carried on by the Rump, or, to ſpeak decently of thoſe who uſed their Power better than they obtained it, the Remnant of the Houſe of Commons, who ſeized the ſupreme Authority towards the Cloſe of the Civil War. All that *Cromwell* had to do with the *Dutch* was granting them a Peace, upon much eaſier Terms than the Parliament would have done. I do not ſend you for this to *Clarendon* or *Warwick*, you will find it aſſerted by *Whitlock*, *Ludlow*, *Ruſhworth*, *Slingsby*, *Bethel*, *Coke*, and by all the Writers on that Side. The Protector could not extinguiſh Parties, but he got the better of Factions. *Thurloe*, like *Walſingham*,

Walſingham, had the wonderful Art of weav ing Plots, in which buſy People were ſo en tangled that they could never eſcape, bu were ſometimes ſpared upon Submiſſion, a others, hanged for Examples. But with th Protector, *Oliver*, this Spirit diſappeared and Faction crept immediately out of hi Grave, with an hundred Heads, and a hundred Hands. If theſe had been civ Factions only, *Richard* might have reigned but when they once took Poſſeſſion of *Wa lingford* Houſe, he thought, and perhap he thought wiſely, that it was high Tim to retire. In this perplexed State of Things thoſe whom *Oliver* had turned out, re ſumed that Power which he had taken from them. *Monk*, who commanded the Arm in *Scotland*, not knowing how they migh uſe it in reſpect to him, marched ſlowly in to *England*, and hearing the People every where regret being ſo often abuſed, an abandoned, thought it beſt for them, as wel as ſafeſt for himſelf, to be adviſed by th general Whiſper, that the old Governmen ſhould be reſtored. The Populace, lon drunk with Sound, were by ſucceſſive Ty rants whipped into their Senſes.

AFTE

AFTER the Return of King *Charles* the Second, the Nation had a Specimen of true Patriotiſm in the Conduct of his Miniſters, *Clarendon* and *Southampton*; who thought a better Proof of Loyalty to their Maſter could not be given, than by a firm Adherence to the Conſtitution. The Duke of *Albemarle* had the Honour of reſtoring HIM, but to theſe two noble Earls indiſputably the Glory belongs of reſtoring IT. Soon after the Death of the latter, a Faction was formed, by a Coalition of Parties, againſt the former, and the King, though he had ſeen the Error of his Father, in reſpect to the Earl of *Strafford*, acted the like Part with regard to the Earl of *Clarendon*; one Circumſtance only excepted, which was his concurring in that Meaſure, to which his Father was forced. This Faction, which, in the Guiſe of Patriots, had accompliſhed the Ruin of the Chancellor, came very ſoon after into Power, and were diſtinguiſhed, with great Propriety, by the Title of the *Cabal*. They firſt endeavoured to ſecure the King, by undertaking to put him in Poſſeſſion of a Plenitude of Power; but when he ſaw the Conſequences attending, and that muſt have attended the Meaſures

ſures they purſued, he ſtopped ſhort, for which they abuſed him; and ſome of them, diſmiſſed from his Service, put themſelves at the Head of an Oppoſition, conducted with great Violence, and which ſubſiſted as long as he lived. The chief Pretence for this was the King's Connection with *France*, into which however he was drawn by the Cabal, and his Want of Affection for the *Dutch*, which flowed from the ſame Source. The Miniſters, who had gone the greateſt Lengths with reſpect to both, one of whom had been Embaſſador to the *French* Monarch at *Utrecht*; and the other, who, in expreſs Terms, declared that *Holland* ought to be deſtroyed, and this to both Houſes of Parliament, were not aſhamed to make their own Peace, by laying the whole Blame upon their Maſter. They went farther, and impeached the noble Perſon who ſucceeded them in Power, of engaging in a Negotiation with *France*, in which they knew he had little Share, and that what little Share he had, was againſt his Will; at the ſame Time, they took into their Councils, the very Miniſter who propoſed and negotiated this Treaty, and whoſe only Title to Favour, was imputing this Crime to another, who, upon the very Face of Accuſation, was more innocent

innocent of it than himſelf. In the Midſt of the Ferment raiſed by this political Clamour, the *French* Miniſter, reſiding at the King's Court, was taken into their Conſultations, and had a great Share in directing that Clamour, which was principally founded upon the King of *Great-Britain*'s having too cloſe a Correſpondence with the King his Maſter. There is in this ſomething ſo groſs, and ſo contradictory, that it would be juſtly exploded as an Abſurdity, if we had not indiſputable Evidence of it, in the Letters and Memoirs of the Duke of *Leeds*; and it is very poſſible, that the World may receive ſtill farther Information upon this Head, in caſe the Letters of a certain *French* Miniſter ſhould, as it is confidently reported they will, very ſhortly be produced to public View. A Circumſtance that will not only gratify our Curioſity, but, which is of far greater Importance, inform our Underſtandings, and teach us what to think of *French* Politicks, when employed in the Direction either of our Patriots, or our Kings.

But this is a Point of great Conſequence. There has been always a Spirit of Jealouſy of *French* Meaſures, and of Animoſity a-

gainſt that Nation, predominant in this; which at certain Times, and to ſerve particular Purpoſes, has been treated as unjuſt, barbarous, and very contrary to that good Senſe, and general Application to thinking, which the *French* themſelves, though not apt to flatter their Neighbours, have always allowed to the Inhabitants of *Britain*. That ſuch a Spirit there is, I believe to be true; nor can I bring myſelf to believe that it is groundleſs. In the Reign of King *James* the Firſt, if we may believe *Sully*'s Memoirs, or rather thoſe which paſs under that great Man's Name, *Henry* the Fourth took great Pains to engage him in that Syſtem, by which, being in no Condition to do it by Force, *France* was to be complimented with univerſal Influence, out of Reſpect to her Moderation. The King treated this with Civility and Regard, but without being the Dupe of it, or of many other Negotiations, which were from Time to Time ſet on Foot, to draw him into a cloſe Connection with that Crown, under the ſpecious Pretences of Deference for his Government, and Affection for his Perſon, though

though we have no real Inſtance of the former, at leaſt that is well ſupported, and many blunt Jeſts are recorded, that manifeſtly deſtroy the latter. At the End of his Reign, a Paſſage was denied to the Troops of Count *Mansfield*, through the Territories of *France*, which plainly diſcovered the Inſincerity of thoſe Profeſſions, made with great Warmth, and often repeated. His Son *Charles* the Firſt defeated the Deſign that was formed between the *French* and *Dutch* for dividing the *Low-Countries*, contrary to the Faith of Treaties, and the Intereſt of this Nation, to maintain the Balance of Power; for which the *French* Miniſter, *Richlieu*, revenged himſelf by ſtirring up Troubles in *Scotland*, and blowing the Embers of national Diſcontent, into that Flame, which put it out of our Power to interpoſe for many Years, in giving a Check to the ambitious Deſigns of that daring and able Prieſt, which have prov'd the Source of almoſt all the Troubles in *Europe*, as might be made appear from our beſt Hiſtories if the *French* themſelves were at any Pains to deny them; but as they

are not, and the Facts remain uncontroverted, it would be needleſs and therefore tedious.

IT is a Matter of Fact, alſo, notorious to all the World, that *Mazarine* preferring his own private Intereſt, and the immediate Advantages that might be made by his Aſſiſtance, induced his Maſter to enter into a cloſe Alliance with the Protector *Cromwell*, to which he ſacrificed the Honour of the Crown of *France*, and the Reſpect due to the Royal Family, by conſenting to expel Princes, immediately deſcended from *Henry* the Fourth, merely to obtain the Good-will of *Oliver*, to whom he paid not only the higheſt Deference, but a Sort of ſlaviſh Obedience. Upon his Demiſe, his Miniſter *Lockhart* was ſtill ſo much regarded, that both *Mazarine*, and the *Spaniſh* Prime-Miniſter, Don *Lewis de Haro*, viſited him in Ceremony, while the Treaty of the *Pyrences* was on the Carpet, at the ſame Time that they declined ſeeing King *Charles*, who was in the Neighbourhood. The ſame Motives which induced the *French* to take this Step, engaged them, as Mr. *Locke*

Locke aſſures us, to tamper with *Monk*, as the *Dutch* had done with *Cromwell*, to ſet up for himſelf, under a Promiſe of ſupporting him to the utmoſt. The King himſelf was ſo ſenſible of all this, that he would not truſt his Perſon in their Dominions, and probably would not have been reſtored, or at leaſt not ſo eaſily, if he had.

AFTER his Return to the Adminiſtration of the Government at Home, he was exceedingly careſſed by the *French* King, who found Means to purchaſe *Dunkirk* for a Song; the Stores, and other Things found there, being worth all that was paid for it, and no ſooner had it in his Hands, than he cauſed a Medal to be ſtruck, to proclaim his own Wiſdom, and *Charles*'s Folly. He encouraged the *Dutch* to undertake the firſt War in that Reign, that the Maritime Powers might weaken each other by Sea, and not only aſſiſted them againſt *England*, but treated with Mr. *Algernon Sidney*, and others of that Party, for reviving the Republic, as you may read in *Ludlow*'s Memoirs; in the Appendix to

which there is the Copy of the Paſſport, granted to that Gentleman, to facilitate his Journey to *Paris*. At the very ſame Time he made an Offer to the King of his good Offices for concluding a Peace, and while this was actually treating at *Breda*, the *French* Court was privy to the Deſign of the Expedition into the *Thames*, which was delayed for ſome Days in Expectation of a *French* Squadron, that was to have aſſiſted therein, but which never appeared, that the Reſentment of this Action might fall wholly upon the *Dutch*. To heighten this Reſentment, an Account was printed at the End of *Tavernier*'s Voyages, of the Manner in which the Servants of the *Dutch Eaſt-India* Company at *Gambron* cauſed King *Charles* the Second to be burnt in Effigy, and this notwithſtanding the Governor of the Shâh of *Perſia* did all that was in his Power to hinder it.

By this, and by various other Inſinuations of the ſame Kind, the Way was prepared for the ſecond *Dutch* War, undertaken at the Inſtigation of *France*, in which a Squadron of

of their new Maritime Force was employed, on the Side, though not for the Aſſiſtance of the *Engliſh*, but to learn the Art of working Ships of War, and managing a Fight at Sea; and an Officer, who, from mere Point of Honour, behaved gallantly in one of thoſe Engagements, was ill-treated for it at his Return. The Truth of theſe Facts might poſſibly have been queſtioned, if the Succeſs of the *French*, in their Endeavours, had not ſo far taken from them all Senſe of Shame, as to engage them to boaſt of theſe Practices, as the Effects of a refined and ſuperior Policy, to which, in ſome Meaſure *Lewis* XIV. owed the Sirname of *Great*. But in order to attain this pompous Title, which has been often *fatal*, ſeldom *fortunate*, to thoſe who wore it, he condeſcended to Actions that were extremely *little*; ſuch as practiſing upon our King's warm Affection for his Siſter, and ſending over with her a dangerous Beauty, whoſe Charms might faſcinate a Prince devoted to his Pleaſures, and by becoming the Canal of *French* Counſels turn his private Misfortunes into a public

Calamity. It appears therefore from this ſuccinct and unexaggerated View of the Injuries we received from *France*, that if we are really, as they ſtile us, a penetrating, thoughtful, and ſpeculative Nation, we muſt neceſſarily acquire ſuch a Spirit, as has been before deſcribed; a Spirit which, by great Obligations, may poſſibly be quenched in particular Men; a Spirit, which, to facilitate their private Views, a Party may be brought to conceal, or even to diſſemble; but a Spirit which can never be eradicated from the Boſom of the People, who judge from Experience, and who, though they may be deceived in other Senſes, are leaſt of all to be impoſed upon in reſpect to their *Feeling*: And this is the Reaſon that whatever Party clamoured againſt *France*, has been always ſure of having the Nation on their Side, though they might be ſometimes in the Wrong; and whatever Party cloſed with *France*, has, in the End, had the Voice of the Public againſt them, tho' in ſome Meaſure in the Right; which Remark, if you bear in Mind, will ſerve to explain many Things with Eaſe and Certainty,

tainty, which, conſidered in any other Light, will appear equally extravagant, contradictory and unaccountable.

THESE Reflections bring me naturally back to that ſhort Hiſtory of Parties from which I digreſſed; and the firſt Remark that I ſhall make on the Reign, to which we are now arrived, will, I hope, ſufficiently juſtify that Digreſſion. The Acceſſion of King *James* the Second, to the Throne of theſe Kingdoms, was peaceable indeed, but withal it was very perplexed; ſince, except thoſe of his own Religion, his Subjects were, generally ſpeaking, full of Apprehenſions. Yet his Declaration in Council, and his behaving at firſt in a Cavalier Manner to the Court of *France*, had ſuch an Effect, that if it had not been quickly cancelled by his ſubſequent Behaviour, it would have ſilenced all Prejudices, and ſecured him the Affections of his People. It is ſaid that *Lewis* himſelf was ſenſible of this, and diſcovered great Satisfaction, when, as he expreſſed it, he found *this* King would take his *Money*, as well as his *Brother*. The

King of *England* was not a Prince of great Addreſs, and was farther ſtill from being a deep Politician; but he wanted not ſome Qualities that might have rendered him very acceptable to the Bulk of the Nation. He was regular and punctual in every Thing, a great Oeconomiſt, loved Trade, and underſtood it; but his Zeal for the Popiſh Religion, and his Attachment to *France*, which was the Effect of that Zeal, very ſoon alienated the Hearts of the People at home, and excited many Enemies abroad. In Conſequence of the former, an Attempt was made to deprive him of the Crown, almoſt as ſoon as it was fixed upon his Head; but it was the latter that deprived him of his Dominions, when he thought himſelf ſecure by the Defeat of that, which was ſtiled *Monmouth*'s Rebellion. His Endeavours to introduce Popery raiſed a general Conſternation, which, however, might poſſibly have ſubſided, if he had not entered into a cloſe Conjunction with *France*, from a miſtaken Notion, that this would promote it. The League of *Augsbourgh* was privately formed in order to curb the exorbitant

exorbitant Power of *Lewis* the Fourteenth. The Prince of *Orange*, who was the Head, or rather the Soul of that Alliance, ſaw clearly, that the Ends of it could never be obtained, unleſs *England* could be detached from this unnatural Conjunction. This was attempted by the *Imperial* and *Spaniſh* Courts, with whom the Pope alſo co-operated. But *James* remained firm, or, to uſe a more proper Word, obſtinate in his falſe Meaſures. This delivered the Proteſtant Religion from the greateſt Riſk, to which it had been expoſed from the Time of its legal Eſtabliſhment by Queen *Elizabeth*. Another Circumſtance concurred to his Deſtruction; he endeavoured to conceal his Deſign in Favour of Popery, by promoting a general Toleration; and that he might appear to be in earneſt in this Reſpect, he was indulgent to Diſſenters of all Denominations, and remarkably kind to the *French* Proteſtants, which, in ſome Degree, anſwered his Purpoſe at home, but had a very different Effect abroad. The *Dutch*, not without Reaſon, ſuſpected he had no great Good-Will towards them, and

and perceiving, that whatever he meant this Toleration, joined to the flouriſhing Circumſtances his Subjects were in, would very ſoon prove fatal to their Commerce, ſhewed a Readineſs to take any Step that might prevent it. This ſuggeſted the Scheme of the Revolution, promoted the Execution, and ſecured the Succeſs of it. The Pope, the Emperor, the King of *Spain*, and ſeveral Princes of *Germany*, but particularly the Elector of *Brandenburgh* lent their Aſſiſtance willingly, and lent it to a Prince the moſt capable of managing ſuch a Deſign, with that Secreſy and Addreſs, which could alone hinder it from proving abortive. King *James* did not ſuſpect it till it was too late, and though *Lewis* the Fourteenth ſaw it earlier, and made ſome Attempts to prevent it; yet theſe were ſo far from having the intended Effect, that they only ſerved to convince the *Dutch* of the Neceſſity of Riſking all, to ſave themſelves from the Conſequences of having once embarked in it.

IF this Series of Facts has not already

ſhewn

ſhewn you, that the ſpecious Opinions of Party ſerve only to ſubject the public Intereſts to the Views of private Men, and are the Seeds of Factions, that aim at nothing more than the Poſſeſſion of Power; the ſimple Conſideration of this Event will convince you. King *James*, miſled by wrong Notions, as to the Nature of his own Authority, and the Obedience due from his Subjects, meditated the Subverſion of the Conſtitution in Church and State. Did he want Inſtruments in in doing this? Were his Miniſters all of one Party? Did not ſome, who before, and after, bore the Appellation of Whigs, concur in his Meaſures? And was there not here and there a Tory who declined any Concurrence? As all theſe Queſtions muſt be anſwered in the Affirmative, you cannot but ſee that Party Spirit and Public Spirit are very oppoſite Things. The former may be, and often is, very plauſible; but the latter only is Praiſe-worthy. The one may contribute to enrich and to aggrandize particular Perſons, but it is the Propagation of the other, that muſt elevate Nations. When the Prince of *Orange* landed with

with an Army, and Reſtraints were taken away, it preſently appeared, that, except Papiſts, almoſt all who had concurred with King *James* did it from factious Views, otherwiſe they would not have deſerted him. If, inſtead of doing this then, they had done it at his Acceſſion, it would have done them infinitely more Honour, and perhaps their Country more Good. He muſt then have ſeen the Notions that governed him in a true Light, and he muſt have abandoned them, or he muſt have abdicated, in the ſtrict and proper Senſe of the Word; either of which had ſaved a great deal of Trouble and Confuſion.

BUT to puſh this Matter ſtill farther, when the Throne was declared vacant, and, in conſequence of it, the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange* were ſeated thereon, did this extinguiſh Parties? Nothing like it. The Whigs were ſometimes in Oppoſition, the Tories had ſometimes a Share in Power; the ſame Struggles that had diſtreſſed and diſturbed the Nation, in the Reign of King *Charles* the Second, diſtreſſed and diſturbed it

it again, during the Reign of *William* the Third. The great Reproach, not of that Reign, but of the Nation in that Reign, was the contracting a heavy Debt, which, as it might have been foreſeen, and was actually foreſeen, has been increaſing ever ſince. But to what was that owing? The Tories charge it upon the Whigs, who deviſed this Method of ſupporting a Government, in which ſome of the Tory Chiefs had however a ſhare. On the other hand, the Whigs lay it at the door of the Tories, who put it out of their Power to ſupport the Government any other Way. The Truth is, it aroſe from the prevalence of Party Spirit and from that Corruption which naturally attends it which conſiſts in making the intereſts of the Public ſubſervient to the Views of particular Men. The Complaints of moſt of the Hiſtorians againſt the Conduct of King *William*, are, in Fact, his higheſt Commendations; for they Charge him with an indifference as to Parties; he laboured to conſolidate them, and finding that impracticable, he laboured to balance them, and in that he found very great

great difficulties; from which Difficulties, however, he received ſome temporary Relief, from the conciliating Temper of the Duke of *Shrewſbury*, the Firmneſs of the Earl of *Sunderland*, (for the Earl of *Sunderland* was again employed) from the Dexterity of Lord *Hallifax*, from the Steadineſs of Lord *Somers*, and from the Fidelity of the Earl of *Portland*; but after all, theſe were only temporary reliefs and the Storm of Faction from Time to Time darkened and diſturbed the Adminiſtration of public Affairs from the Day that he was declared King, to the very laſt Year of his Reign, when the Scene began to clear up.

THE political Temper which concluded it, was an Attack upon himſelf and his Miniſters, in reſpect to the Partition Treaties; which, it is neceſſary for me to mention here, in order to illuſtrate the Principles that I have advanced. The King reflecting on the many and grievous Difficulties to which he had been expoſed, in carrying on the laſt general War, and being ſincerely diſpoſed to take any meaſures conducive to the

the Tranquillity and independency of *Europe*, without running the Hazard of another, framed the Project of the firſt Partition Treaty, by which the Kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily*, the Places on the Coaſt of *Tuſcany*, the Town and Marquiſate of *Final*, and the Province of *Guipuſcoa*, were given to the Dauphin; the Dutchy of *Milan*, to the Arch-duke *Charles*, Son to the Emperor *Leopold*, and the reſt of the Dominions of *Spain* to the Electoral Prince of *Bavaria:* which Treaty was ſigned at the *Hague*, *October* the 11th, 1698, by Count *Tallard*, as Miniſter Plenipotentiary for the *French* King and the Dauphin his Son; by the Earl of *Portland*, on the Part of the King of *Great-Britain*, and by eight Plenipotentiaries on the Behalf of the States-General. The Death of the young Prince of *Bavaria*, rendering this Scheme impracticable, a new Treaty was concluded upon the ſame Principles for dividing the Dominions of *Spain* between the Dauphin, and the Arch-duke *Charles* of *Auſtria*, which Treaty was ſigned by the Earls of *Portland* and *Jerſey*. But his Catholick Majeſty,

Charles

Charles the Second, being himſelf very deſirous to prevent his Territories from being diſmembered, knowing this to be the Senſe of his Subjects, and being not ignorant of the Step taken by the Allies, determined to call *Philip* Duke of *Anjou*, the Dauphin's ſecond Son, to the entire Poſſeſſion of the Dominions belonging to the Crown of *Spain*; which Will having been accepted by *Lewis* the Fourteenth, the Tories charged this upon the Partition Treaty which they aſſerted to be repugnant to the Rules of natural Juſtice, deſtructive of the Balance of Power in *Europe*, and a direct breach of the Grand Alliance, by a ſeparate Article to which, the Crown of *Great-Britain* and the States General had ſolemnly promiſed to ſupport the Claim of his Imperial Majeſty, and the Houſe of *Auſtria*, to the *Spaniſh* Monarchy, againſt the Pretenſions of the Houſe of *Bourbon*. They attacked the King in the groſſeſt Manner, by affecting to call this *a felonious Treaty*, knowing that it ſprung, originally, rather from him than from his Miniſters, and they impeached the Earl of *Portland*, the Lord

Lord *Somers*, and the Lord *Halifax*, for the Share they had in the Matter; but in Regard that the Earl of *Jerſey* had quitted his old Connection, they over-looked him, though he had done as much as any of the reſt; and the Lord *Haverſham* having touched upon this, at a Conference, as having an Appearance of Partiality, they ſent up a Charge to the Lords againſt him. But after all this heat the Impeachments came to nothing, for the Lords put in their reſpective Anſwers, and the Houſe of Peers, having appointed a Day for the trial of the Lord *Somers*, and the Houſe of Commons not appearing, he was acquitted of the Impeachment, by fifty-ſix Votes againſt Thirty-one; and the reſt of the Lords were ſoon after acquitted without any Diviſion.

THE Points to be obſerved, upon this Matter, are many: I will enumerate only a few. *Firſt*, That the Tories had exclaimed againſt the War, concluded by the Peace of *Ryſwick*, as burthenſome upon this nation, and advantageous only to Foreigners, and inſiſted upon every Meaſure that might diſable

able the King from entering into another War; and yet now they cenſured the King, and impeached his Miniſters, for endeavouring, as far as was poſſible, to preſerve Peace. *Secondly*, Though there was nothing clearer, than that the King, from a Principle of public Spirit, was content to negotiate with *France*, in reference to her Pretenſions on the *Spaniſh* Succeſſion, in order to procure a reaſonable Satisfaction for the Houſe of *Auſtria*, yet the Houſe of Commons treated this as a high Preſumption, declaring the *French* King's Acceptance of the Will, in Favour of the Duke of *Anjou*, a crying Act of Injuſtice, and aſſerting the whole Right to that Succeſſion to be in the Emperor and his Deſcendants. Though after all, if the Kings of *Great-Britain*, *France*, and *Spain* were not competent Judges of this Queſtion, it would be no eaſy Matter to aſſign Arguments to prove *them* ſo. *Laſtly*, Here was the Poſition firſt laid down, that no juſt and honourable Treaty could be made, unleſs the Right of the Emperor, and the Houſe of *Auſtria*, to the whole *Spaniſh* Succeſſon, was maintained

tained and ſupported: However, in making the next general Alliance, this peremptory Deciſion was very prudently diſregarded, and the Tories themſelves, afterwards, boaſted of a Peace, that was made upon the Baſis of the Partition Treaties, when the Whigs took up their diſcarded Doctrine about the indefeazible Rights of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and impeached the Makers of that Peace, though immediately after it was made, it received the Sanction of Parliament. The Concluſion I would have you draw from all this, is, that Party Pretences ought not to be the Rules of Action to any wiſe or worthy Man; and therefore it is no Imputation on any Man, that he has ſlighted or contemned them, and that true public Spirit, conſiſting in the invariable Purſuit of public Good, is the only certain Characteriſtic of a Patriot, whether it be diſcovered by the Meaſures, to which he adheres in Power, or from the Oppoſition he may be engaged in, to ſuch as are purſued, when he is out.

LET-

LETTER IV.

——————— laudataque Virtus
Creſcit & immenſum Gloria calcar habet.

The Character of Mr. St. John *not affected by his ſetting out a Tory. The Houſe of Lords change their Notions as to the Succeſſion of the* Spaniſh *Monarchy. Inſiſt that the ſole Means of ſecuring the* BALANCE *was to reſtore it to the Houſe of* Auſtria. *Charge of Mr.* St. John, *that he voted againſt the* Hanover *Succeſſion in* 1702, *which he denies. Thoſe who maintain that Charge reply to his Defence. Granting all they contend for will not fix the Charge. Mr.* Manwayring's *ſtrange Conceſſion on this Subject. Biſhop* Burnet's *Account of the ſame Matter. Mr.* St. John *attends the Queen to* Oxford, *and is created Doctor of Laws. Tories refuſe to ſettle a Part of the Poſt-Office Revenue on the Duke of* Marlborough. *Mr.* St. John *one of the Managers for the Houſe of Commons, at the Conferences on the Bill for preventing Occaſional Conformity. But votes*

votes againſt tacking that Bill in another Seſſions. Earls of Rocheſter *and* Nottingham *reſign, which occaſions ſome Changes.* Henry St. John, *Eſq; made Secretary at War, and of the Marines.*

THE firſt Parliament in which Mr. *St. John* ſat was but of very ſhort Continuance, conſiſting of that ſingle Seſſion, which began, *February* 10, 1700, and ended, *June* 24, 1701. In my laſt I touched the moſt important Buſineſs that came before both Houſes, which was the Impeachment of the King's Miniſters, who were concerned in the Concluſion of the two Partition Treaties; though nothing could be more notorious, or could indeed appear from more authentic Evidence, in Letters which the Houſe of Commons had laid before them, than that the King himſelf was the Author of thoſe Treaties. To him therefore the outrageous Epithets made uſe of in ſpeaking of that Treaty were referred, as appears very clearly from the famous *Kentiſh* Petition. If therefore Mr. *St. John* went with the Majority, who, in thoſe

Days,

Days, were conſidered as Tories, he muſt undoubtedly be looked upon as coming into the World under that Denomination; and therefore thoſe are clearly in the Wrong, who charge him with changing Sides, in the earlieſt Part of his Life. His Conduct in this Reſpect will not certainly appear inexcuſable even to ſevere Judges, or ſuch as have always eſpouſed the Principles of the Whigs; ſince, upon the Trial of the Lord *Somers*, we find the Duke of *Somerſet*, the Earl of *Marlborough*, and the Lord *Godolphin* againſt him, and the two laſt Lords generally concured with the Tories, in their Proteſts, in the Houſe of Peers. The Proceedings of this Parliament were, without doubt, very diſtaſteful to the King, who from his natural Coolneſs and Patience bore every thing with great Temper, and kept his ſecret reſolution of being rid of them cloſe in his own Breaſt, till the eleventh of *November*, when a Proclamation was iſſued for diſſolving this, and calling a new Parliament to meet on the thirtieth of *December* following.

In this, which was the laſt Parliament in the Reign of King *William*, and the firſt in that of Queen *Anne*; *Henry St. John*, Eſq; and *Thomas Jacob*, Eſq; were Members for *Wotton Baſſet*; and *Robert Harley*, Eſq; was again choſen Speaker. The King opened the Seſſions by a very pathetic Speech, with the Contents of which you are ſo well acquainted, that it is not neceſſary I ſhould put you in Mind of it; but there is one Thing, which, it is very requiſite, I ſhould not let ſlip. The Houſe of Lords, who the Year before had rather inclined to favour the Partition Treaty, thought fit, in their firſt Addreſs, to adopt the Doctrine upon which the Houſe of Commons had founded their Impeachments, but laboured at the ſame Time to reconcile it to their former Sentiments.

For after ſaying, "We eſteem it a "further good Fortune, in this Time of "public Danger, that the *French* King has "taken thoſe Meaſures, which will make "it impoſſible for him to impoſe any more "upon the World by Treaties, ſo often

" lated; neither can he hope, any longer, " to cover his ambitious Deſigns, or juſtify " his Uſurpation, under the ſpecious Pre- " tences of Peace; and having mentioned the Paſſage in his Majeſty's Speech, relating to King *Philip*'s taking Poſſeſſion of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy, they then proceed; " And as the placing his Grandſon upon " the Throne of *Spain* is viſible to the " whole World, the Cauſe of all thoſe " Dangers, mentioned in your Majeſty's " Speech, and of the Breach of the Ba- " lance of Power in *Europe*, which the " People of *England* are ſo deeply engaged " to preſerve; ſo, we humbly conceive " the Remedy is as apparent as the Diſeaſe, " and that your Majeſty, your Subjects, " and Allies, can never be ſafe and ſe- " cure, till the Houſe of *Auſtria* be re- " ſtored to their Rights, and the Invader " of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy brought to " Reaſon." You will eaſily ſee why I point this out to you, ſo particularly, tho' it does not immediately relate to Mr. *St. John*, to whom we will now return, and conſider one of the moſt material Tranſac-

tions

tions in his Life, and which has from thence been the moſt controverted.

IT was put into the Number of Charges againſt him, ſo early as the Year 1710, and very frequently and loudly repeated after, that he voted, this Year, againſt the Succeſſion in the Houſe of *Hanover*, which in a little Piece of his, publiſhed in 1731, when it was urged as a Thing notorious and undeniable, this noble Perſon calls a falſe and impudent Aſſertion. He farther adds, that the Bill for ſettling the Proteſtant Succeſſion paſſed in 1701, and not in 1702; he likewiſe obſerves, that in the ſame Year, a Bill was brought into Parliament, by Sir *Charles Hedges* and himſelf, entitled, "A "Bill for the further Security of his Ma- "jeſty's Perſon, and the Succeſſion of the "Crown in the Proteſtant Line, and extin- "guiſhing the Hopes of the pretended "Prince of *Wales*, and all other Preten- "ders, and their open and ſecret Abettors." In the Progreſs of this Bill through the Houſe, tho' there were ſome Debates and Diviſions about particular Clauſes and

Amendments, yet the Bill was paſſed without any Diviſion. It is then obſerved, that the Diviſion referred to, of one hundred and ſeventeen, to one hundred and eighteen, happened upon a Clauſe added by the Lords, to a Bill for "enlarging the Time "for taking the Oath of Abjuration," which Clauſe regarded only ſuch Perſons, as had neglected to take the Abjuration Oath in Time, and provided, "that "if ſuch Perſons had forfeited any Office, "Benefice, &c. to which any other Perſon "had been preferred, the former ſhould "not be reſtored by taking the Advantage "of this Act." At firſt Sight, one would think this as full and clear an Anſwer as could be given, and yet ſuch Difference there is in Mens Sentiments, that thoſe who brought this charge adhered to it, and undertook roundly to ſhew, that it was, in reality, no Anſwer at all; and that you may have an Opportunity of coming at Truth, I ſhall ſtate to you, as plainly, and as ſuccinctly, as I can, the Grounds upon which they went.

THEY

THEY affirmed that the Bill as it went from the Commons was framed by the Tories, and calculated to give, ſuch as could not hitherto digeſt the Abjuration Oath, a Year's Reſpite: and the Reaſon they gave for it was, that ſince the Acceſſion of the Queen, many were inclined to come in, and take that Oath, who declined it before. When this Bill came up into the Houſe of Lords, three Clauſes were added, by way of Amendments, to this Bill. By the firſt, it was provided that no perſon who had already loſt his Poſt, or Employment, for want of taking that Oath, ſhould be reſtored, in Virtue of this Act, in Caſe his Poſt or Employment, was poſſeſſed by another. The ſecond Clauſe made it High-Treaſon for any Perſon whatever, their Abettors, or Aſſiſtants, to endeavour to deprive or hinder any Perſon, next in Succeſſion to the Crown, for the Time being, according to the Limitation contained in the two Acts paſſed for regulating the Succeſſion. The third Clauſe extended the Abjuration Act to *Ireland*. Theſe were very warmly debated, when the Bill came down

again for the Concurrence of the Houſe of Commons. At length there was a Diviſion upon the firſt Amendment, and it was carried to agree with the Lords by a ſingle Vote. The great Streſs of the Debate lay upon the ſecond, which was the moſt material Amendment, and the only one in which the Succeſſion had any Concern. Yet, according to the Reaſon of Things, and the practice of the Houſe, they divided upon the Clauſes made by the Lords as they ſtood in their Order, marked, A, B, C. The Firſt marked A was that upon which this famous Diviſion actually happened, but it is urged, that the Tories only divided upon that to try their Strength, and having loſt it, tho' by the ſmalleſt Majorities, were afraid to divide againſt the reſt; and it is alledged, that two Circumſtances put this point of Fact out of doubt: Firſt, That Mr. *Granville* ſaluted Sir *Matthew Dudley* when this Diviſion was over, in theſe Words, *How fare you, Mynheer* Dudley? To which Sir *Matthew* replied, *Fort bien, Monſieur* Granville: The Inſinuation is ſo plain, that I will not point it out.

The

The other Circumſtance was, that Mr. *Dyer*, who wrote a famous News-Letter at this time gave his Sentiments of the Matter, in theſe Words: *The* Prince *of* Wales *loſt it in the* Houſe *only by* one *Vote.* This is the Evidence in Support of the Charge put in the ſtrongeſt Light poſſible.

But tho' this reply ſhould be thought ſufficient to diſable the Anſwer, yet it may be worthy of your calm and ſerious Conſideration, whether it, beyond all Contradiction, fixes the Charge. For in all ſuch Debates, it may be with great Probability aſſerted, that Men frame their Opinions from very different Motives, even when they vote on the ſame Side; and therefore, tho' all the warm Men of both Parties might conceive the Succeſſion deeply intereſted, yet ſome of more moderate Principles might have other Sentiments, and might alledge, in ſupport of them, theſe two Arguments: Firſt, That it was unuſual and improper to introduce a Clauſe of the higheſt Importance, enacting a new Species of Treaſon, in a Bill regarding a

Matter of far leſs Weight; and, Secondly, That whether theſe Clauſes ſtood Part of the Bill or not, the Succeſſion of the Houſe of *Hanover* would ſtill have remained fixed and eſtabliſhed by Law. In reſpect to which Mr. *St. John* had been undeniably inſtrumental, in drawing and bringing in the Bill that fixed it; whereas, in this Caſe, his Oppoſition was but conſtructive, at the moſt; and this not againſt the Succeſſion itſelf, but againſt the new Method of ſecuring it. Neither will it appear abſurd to a Man of Candour, as well as Capacity, if we ſhould ſuggeſt that very poſſibly Mr. *St. John*, from his Conduct in the former Point, thought himſelf the more at Liberty to act as his Reaſon dictated, as to the latter.

BUT that you may be ſenſible I have not taken up your Time to little Purpoſe and to give you a juſt Comprehenſion of the great Difficulty there is in coming at Facts of this Nature as they really happen, you muſt allow me to dwell upon it a little longer. In the Year 1710, there were publiſhed two Papers, one of which was called,

The

The Teſt *offered to the* Electors *of* Great-Britain; and the other, entitled, *A* Liſt *of the Honourable* Houſe *of* Commons *that voted for and againſt the* Clauſe *for the* Hanover Succeſſion, *in* 1702; the plain Deſign of which was to exclude thoſe who were in that Minority from ever ſitting again. This produced a Vindication upon the Principles beforementioned. By way of *Reply* to this there was publiſhed, *A Letter from a* Member, *who then ſat in* Parliament, inſerted by *Oldmixon* in his Hiſtory, and aſſerted to have been written by *Arthur Manwayring*, Eſq; in which there is the following Paſſage: "the Debate was "chiefly held upon the Subject Matter of "The ſecond Amendment, and thoſe Gen-"tlemen that were againſt giving that Se-"curity to the Houſe of *Hanover*, princi-"pally inſiſted on the Danger of multiply-"ing Treaſons; the great Inconveniencies "that might ariſe from making new Trea-"ſons and other Arguments to that Ef-"fect. But tho' hardly any Notice was "taken of the firſt Amendment, it was in "courſe to be put firſt. And now comes

" the great Art and Parliamentary ſkill of
" thoſe Perſons that were againſt the ſecond
" Amendment. They reſolved, according
" to the moſt uſual Piece of Management
" in that Houſe, to try their Number, by
" dividing upon the firſt. But that was ſo
" little thought to be the Buſineſs of the
" Day, or indeed, of the firſt Diviſion it-
" ſelf, that *two* or *three* ſtaunch old Mem-
" bers *went out* juſt before the *Diviſion*,
" having ſome particular *Views* at that Time,
" which made it inconvenient for them to
" *declare* againſt the *Proteſtant Succeſſion*;
" and thoſe of their Friends, who ſtaid the
" Diviſion, and whoſe Names are ſet forth
" in the printed Teſt under the Title No's,
" *againſt agreeing with the* Lords, may
" ſtrictly and properly be ſaid in Parliamen-
" tary Language, to have divided againſt
" the Amendments; the rather, becauſe
" few Inſtances can be given, that ever the
" weaker Side, upon loſing ſuch a previous
" Queſtion, divided again upon any ſubſe-
" quent Clauſe that had been mixed in the
" ſame Debate." You cannot but ſee, that
this Argument proves too much, or avoid
diſcerning

diſcerning that it was the moſt abſurd Reaſon in the World to exclude the Members of the *Minority* from ever ſitting again, to affirm that they were in reality the *Majority*. To all this let me add, that to inſinuate, this Point was carried through *Fear*, and private *Apprehenſions*, was a Conduct, that if this Gentleman had not eſtabliſhed his Character as a *ſincere Convert*, might have drawn upon him ſome Suſpicion. But remember! Party Zeal will tranſport even the moſt *able* Man into wild and extravagant Expreſſions, ſometimes into ſuch as betray the *very Point* he means to prove.

THE Account given of this Matter, by a Reverend Prelate, is ſtill more extraordinary; and that you may be ſatisfied I deal fairly with you, you ſhall ſee it in his own Words. "When the Bill, ſays his Lord-"ſhip, for thus prolonging the Time, was "brought up to the Lords, a Clauſe was "added qualifying thoſe Perſons, who "ſhould in the next extent of Time, take "the Oaths, to return to their Beneſices or "Employments,

" Employments, unleſs they were already
" legally filled. When this was agreed,
" two Clauſes of much greater Conſe-
" quence were added to the Bill. One was
" declaring it High Treaſon to endeavour
" to defeat the Succeſſion to the Crown,
" as it was now limitted by Law, or to ſet
" aſide the next Succeſſor; this had a Pre-
" cedent in the former Reign, ſo it could
" not be denied now: It ſeemed the more
" neceſſary, becauſe there was another Per-
" ſon who openly claimed the Crown;
" ſo that a further Security might well be
" inſiſted on. This was a great Surprize
" to many, who were viſibly uneaſy at the
" Motion, but were not prepared for it,
" and did not ſee how it could be reſiſted.
" The other Clauſe was for ſending the Ab-
" juration to *Ireland*, and obliging all there,
" (in the ſame Manner, as in *England*) to
" take it: This ſeemed the more reaſona-
" ble, conſidering the Strength of the Po-
" piſh Intereſt there. Both Clauſes paſſ-
" ed in the Houſe of Lords, without any
" Oppoſition; but it was apprehended that
" the Houſe of Commons, would not be
" ſo

" ſo eaſy; yet when it was ſent to them, " they ſtruggled only againſt the firſt " Clauſe, that barred the Return of Per- " ſons, upon their taking the Oaths, into " Places that were already filled. The Par- " ty tried their Strength upon *this*, and up- " on their *Succeſs* in it, they ſeemed re- " ſolved to *diſpute* the *other* Clauſe; but " it was carried, tho' only by *one* Voice, to " agree with the Lords." But tho' his Lordſhip is a little unlucky in moſt of his *Items*, yet he has caſt up the whole *Sum* truly enough, as appears from his Concluſion. " All People, ſays he, were ſurpri- " ſed to ſee a Bill, that was begun in favour " of the Jacobites, turned ſo terribly upon " them, ſince by it we had a new Securi- " ty given both in *England* and *Ireland*, " for a Proteſtant Succeſſor." But it is Time now to return to Mr. *St. John*, the Fame of his Abilities, in the Senate, and the Riſe of his Fortune at Court. A ſure Sign that at this Juncture, his Behaviour ſtood in no ſuch terrible Light.

THE Queen thought proper, on the 2d of

of *July*, 1702, to diſſolve the Parliament by Proclamation, and to appoint a new one to meet on the twentieth of *Auguſt*. *Henry St. John*, Eſq; and *Henry Pennell*, Eſq; were Burgeſſes again for *Wotton-Baſſet*. The Queen, towards the End of the Month, made a Journey from *Windſor*, to *Bath*, and taking *Oxford* in her Way was received with all imaginable Marks of Zeal and Affection, by that Ancient and Loyal Univerſity, and who, on the 27th of *Auguſt*, conferred the Degree of Doctor of Laws, on the Duke of *Somerſet*, the Earl of *Jerſey*, the Earl of *Sandwich*, the Lord *Delawar*, Sir *Simon Harcourt*, *William Bromley*, *Henry St. John*, Eſqrs. and ſeveral other Perſons of Diſtinction, in which high Birth or perſonal Merit ſeem only to have been conſidered.

THE Parliament having been firſt prorogued to the 8th and then to the 20th of *October*, met at *Weſtminſter*, and choſe *Robert Harley*, Eſq; the third time, for their Speaker; this was look'd upon as a Tory Parliament, and there happen'd in this firſt

firſt Seſſion two or three Things, which were very remarkable. Her Majeſty ſent a Meſſage to the Houſe of Commons, on the 10th of *December*, by Mr. Secretary *Hedges*, to acquaint them, that ſhe had raiſed the Earl of *Marlborough* to the Rank of a Duke, and had granted him a Penſion for Life, out of the Poſt-Office, of five thouſand Pounds *per Ann.* being all it was in her Power to do, and therefore, recommended it to them, to find ſome Way, to give the Penſion, and the Honour the ſame Term. But after mature Deliberation, the Houſe, in a wiſe and well penned Addreſs, excuſed themſelves from making ſuch a Precedent, for the future Alienations of the Revenue of the Crown; but at the ſame Time, complimented the Queen highly, upon the Duke of *Marlborough*'s Behaviour, and expreſſed what infinite Pleaſure they received from her gracious Acceptation of his Services, which ſhewed, that the only way to obtain her Favour, was to deſerve well from the Publick. In this they behaved with equal Duty to the Crown, and Juſtice to their Conſtituents.

THE Bill for preventing Occaſional Conformity occaſioned one of the warmeſt and moſt remarkable Diſputes, that during this Reign happened between the two Houſes; it was carried by a great Majority in the Houſe of Commons; it likewiſe paſſed the Houſe of Lords, but with many Amendments. In both Houſes it was ſupported by the Court; and which was thought not a little ſingular, Prince *George* of *Denmark* voted for this Bill, though he was himſelf an occaſional Conformiſt. The Conferences between the two Houſes attracted the Attention of the whole Nation; and were certainly managed by ſome of the ableſt Men in it; and particularly the free Conference, on the ſixteenth of *January*, which was maintained on the one Side by the Duke of *Devonſhire*, the Earl of *Peterborough*, the Biſhop of *Salisbury*, the Lord *Somers*, and the Lord *Halifax*; and on the Part of the Commons by Mr. *Bromley*, Mr. *St. John*, Mr. *Finch*, Sir *Simon Harcourt*, and Sir *Thomas Powys*. After all, the Peers adhering to their Amendments, and the Commons to their own Senſe of Things, the Bill was loſt.

THE

THE Deſign of repreſenting theſe Matters to you, is to make it evident from the cleareſt and beſt Authority, that Mr. *St. John* was not introduced, or held up by the Chin, through the Intereſt or Affection of this or that great Man, but made his Way by his own Merit, and by a Diſplay of thoſe Talents, which are the moſt eſſential and the moſt valuable in an *Engliſh* Gentleman. I do not take upon me either to cenſure or to commend his Conduct; I content myſelf with pointing out to you what it was, and of how great Conſequence it made him; and having done this, I ſhall not fatigue either you or myſelf with following him for the future Step by Step, but ſhall briefly obſerve, that in the next Seſſion of this Parliament, when there was a Motion made to tack the Bill for Occaſional Conformity, now carried a ſecond Time, to a Money Bill, he oppoſed and voted againſt it; which ſhews, that though he had hitherto gone with the ſame Party, yet he was determined not to go the utmoſt Lengths, or to perplex the public Buſineſs of the Nation to ſerve the

Purpoſes

Purpoſes of any Body of Men. It is a Point of Juſtice due to his Character, and a Point that is commonly thrown into Shade by thoſe, who, either from Faſhion or Reſentment, have from Time to Time taken the Liberty to abuſe him; which however did them little Honour, and him little Hurt.

THE Earl of *Rocheſter*, who was the Queen's Uncle, and who had been appointed Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, was ſo little pleaſed with the Confidence her Majeſty had in *Marlborough*, and ſo much piqued at *Godolphin*'s being made Treaſurer, which high Employment he had formerly enjoyed, that at length he declined this great Office, which he might have diſcharged, and which was thereupon given to the Duke of *Ormond*. Some Time after this, the Earl of *Nottingham*, who was Secretary of State, finding himſelf uneaſy in that Office, and aſcribing it to the great Influence of the Dukes of *Somerſet* and *Devonſhire*, inſiſted upon their being removed from the Cabinet-Council, in which not being able to prevail, he carried the Seals to the Queen, who deſir-

ed

ed him very graciouſly to conſider of it, which he did for about twenty-four Hours, and then returning in the ſame Diſpoſition, reſigned them. This was after the Cloſe of the third Seſſion of this Parliament, and after ſome Deliberation it was reſolved, that *Robert Harley*, Eſq; then Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, ſhould ſucceed him. His Abilities were then at their Height; he was, without Doubt, a Perſon of great Knowledge, perfectly well acquainted with our Conſtitution, and believed to be as capable as any Man of managing the Affairs of the Adminiſtration in the Houſe of Commons. Such were the Merits, and ſuch the Terms upon which he came into Power; and we ſhall have frequent Occaſion hereafter to ſpeak of the Steadineſs and Dexterity, viſible in his Management.

On the twentieth of *April* 1704, *Henry St. John*, Eſq; was made Secretary at War and of the Marines, in the Room of *William Blathwayt*, Eſq; who had long enjoyed thoſe Employments. It has been ſaid, that he was brought into the Employments by the

the Favour of the Duke of *Marlborough*; it has been inſinuated that he owed them to the Friendſhip of Mr. *Harley*. It is much more probable, that he was indebted for them to the conſpicuous Figure that he made in the Houſe of Commons; and I will own to you freely, that this is what I believe, though at the ſame Time I am very ſenſible, that he was much in the Duke's good Graces; and that there were few who ſtood higher in the Opinion of Mr. *Harley*. But theſe were as much the Conſequences of his own Merit as the Places he obtained. In thoſe Days Connection was avowed, but Dependance was by Men of Family and Fortune diſdained.

LETTER V.

Boni nullo emolumento impelluntur in Fraudem: Impii ſæpe parvo.

Cic. pro. Milone.

Mr. St. John *becomes Secretary at War, and of the Marines, by his Credit and Figure in the Houſe of Commons. Had a great Share in the Management of Affairs in that Houſe during the Seſſion in* Anno Dom. 1705. *The Tories out of Power become zealous for the Houſe of* Hanover, *and inſolent towards Queen* ANNE. *Mr. Secretary* Harley *and Mr.* St. John *keep Things, notwithſtanding, quiet in the Houſe of Commons. The Parliament and the Adminiſtration, as modelled in* 1706, *pronounced the very beſt he ever ſaw, by Biſhop* Burnet. *Our Succeſs in the Field inſpires the* French *with Moderation, and extinguiſhes our own. The Unreaſonableneſs of this Spirit conſidered in a national Point of View. The Whigs reſolve to puſh their Succeſs, and to ſeize the Adminiſtration entirely. The Face of Affairs abroad*

abroad ſuffers ſome conſiderable Alterations. Laſt Seſſion of a Parliament declared to be the firſt Seſſion of a new Parliament, which ſurpaſſed Mr. Harley's *Underſtanding. A ſuccinct Account of* Gregg's *Buſineſs, and the Reſignations of* Harley, St. John, Manſel, *&c. What were ſaid to be the concealed Reaſons of driving theſe Gentlemen out, by the moſt Intelligent amongſt the Whigs themſelves. The Facts which they aſſumed as indubitable, are at beſt but very uncertain. Remark on the Conſequences of Power obtained by Faction.*

THE Poſt to which Mr. *St. John* was raiſed by the Queen, had ſo cloſe a Connection, and created ſo conſtant a Correſpondence with his Grace the Duke of *Marlborough*, that we may reaſonably preſume it to have been the principal Foundation for the Rumours raiſed many Years after, that he was in a particular Manner attached to that noble Perſon. In ſome Senſe, alſo, this may be very true; for as the greateſt Events of the War, ſuch as the Battles of *Blenheim* and *Ramillies*, and ſeveral glorious

Attempts,

Attempts, made by the Duke to ſhorten the War by ſome deciſive Action, fell out within the Period of Time that Mr. *St. John* was Secretary at War; as he had Occaſion more than once to juſtify, or to uſe a more proper Expreſſion, to ſet his Grace's Conduct in a true Light: As for Inſtance, in carrying through the Houſe the Act for ſettling upon him the Honour and Manor of *Woodſtock*, with the Penſion from the Poſt-Office, and demonſtrating that, beſides all the great Things he did, he would certainly have attempted, and in all probability performed, ſtill greater if he had not been reſtrained by the *Dutch* Deputies; there might appear good Grounds to believe that nobody underſtood the Duke's Behaviour better, or was inclined to do more Juſtice to his Intentions, as well as his Actions, than this Gentleman. But notwithſtanding theſe Facts, we muſt allow a wide Difference between the ſincere Admirer, and the ſervile Creature of that great Man. Mr. *St. John*, while Secretary at War, diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the former Character, and avowed it upon all Occaſions, and even

to

to the laſt Moment of his Life, as theſe his Poſthumous Works will convince you. But he diſclaimed the latter when the Duke was in the Zenith of his Power, nor was he then charged, or, as far as I know, ever charged by the Duke or Dutcheſs of *Marlborough* with Ingratitude or Breach of Engagements to them. In ſucceeding Times it is notorious, that ſuch Charges were brought, repeated and averred, but they were unattended with Proofs, and, as I ſhall ſhew you hereafter, had not ſo much as Probability to render them credible.

IN the Parliament, which met on the twenty-fifth of *October*, 1705, he ſat as Burgeſs for *Wotton Baſſet*, with *Francis Popham*, Eſq; and found the publick Attention fixed upon the Choice of a Speaker, which it was imagined would make a clear Diſcovery of the Complexion of this Houſe of Commons. The Friends of the Adminiſtration named the Right Honourable *John Smith*, Eſq; Member for *Andover*; a Perſon of unexceptionable Character, who had already borne great Offices with much Reputation;

putation; and though he had been always ſteady in the oppoſite Principles, yet was very far from being unacceptable to the Tories. On the other Side, ſuch as were angry, and inclined to go into all the Lengths of an Oppoſition, propoſed *William Bromley*, Eſq; one of the Repreſentatives for the Univerſity of *Oxford*, who was alſo a Man of ſpotleſs Reputation; and, except being a high Tory, had nothing that could be objected to him in reſpect to public or private Life. Sir *Edward Seymour* recommended him with great Warmth and Eloquence, but with much Decency in reſpect to his Competitor, againſt whom he only objected, that he was a *Privy-Counſellor*. To this Mr. *Harley* replied, That *himſelf* had diſcharged the Office of Speaker with great Dignity when he was alſo of the *Privy-Council*, in the Reign of King *Charles* the Second. Upon a Diviſion it was carried by a Majority of forty-four for the Right Honourable *John Smith*, Eſq; who was accordingly placed in the Chair, and proved very acceptable to the Queen and her Adminiſtration. In

the Courſe of this Seſſion, Mr. *St. John* had a great Share in the Management of the public Buſineſs in the Houſe of Commons, and diſcharged his Duty in that Reſpect ſo well, that a certain Prelate, who would not have laviſhed his Compliments to a Stateſman of his independent Spirit, is, however, ſo impartial as to own that he was a Perſon of *much Activity*.

BEFORE we part with this Seſſion, it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that the Tories having thrown themſelves out at Court, became at this Time very zealous for the *Hanover* Succeſſion; and as an undeniable Proof of their Warmth, as well as Sincerity in this Meaſure, they propoſed inviting over the Princeſs *Sophia*. It is indeed true, that Lord *Haverſham*, who opened that Debate in the Houſe of Lords, was never looked upon as a Tory, but quite the contrary; but he was ſeconded by the Duke of *Buckinghamſhire*, and the Earls of *Nottingham*, *Rocheſter* and *Angleſey* ſpoke with great Earneſtneſs in the Debate, at which the Queen was herſelf preſent, though *incognito*.

incognito. This was thought very ſingular, and many Reflections have been made upon it. I ſhall therefore take the Liberty of making one. The Tories, very probably, looked upon their Caſe as a Party, in a Manner, deſperate, as they were for the preſent ſhut out of Power, and which was in Truth a very aggravating Circumſtance, ſhut out by a Princeſs and by Miniſters, whom they had always looked upon as of their own Principles. Their preſent Situation was *bad*, but their Proſpect, with regard to Futurity, was *worſe*. The very Meaſures they had taken to ſecure themſelves in the good Graces of the Queen upon the Throne, had given their Opponents an Opportunity, and to the Honour of their Opponents it muſt be ſaid, that was what they *never* let *ſlip*, of repreſenting them as very cool towards the Proteſtant Succeſſion. If, therefore, this Opinion continued or prevailed, the Tories, under the great Diſappointment of preſent Expectations, had the Misfortune of ſeeing their Hopes blaſted, as far as human Foreſight could reach. It was this, in my poor O-

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pinion, that determined them to the Measures before mentioned; which at once gratified their Reſentment, and revived their Expectations. In reſpect to the firſt, like all exaſperated Parties, they forgot that the *Perſon* againſt whom their Rage was pointed was their *Miſtreſs*, and their *Queen*. Some of them forgot more, they forgot the Returns of Gratitude, and the Ties of Nature. The Duke of *Buckinghamſhire*, who made her the firſt Compliment after her Acceſſion, by replying, when her Majeſty ſaid that the eighth of *March*, on which King *William* died, was a dull, cloudy Day; *for all that*, Madam, *it is the* fineſt *I ever ſaw in my* Life; now loſt all Decency, and ſaid in her hearing, that the Queen might become childiſh, do nothing of her own Head, but be entirely paſſive under thoſe in whoſe Hands ſhe was or might be. The Earl of *Rocheſter*, who was her Uncle, reſumed the ſame Behaviour he had worn in the former Reign, and ſhewed the Ruggedneſs of his Nature in the coarſe Aſperity of his Language. This did not ſerve their Purpoſe at home in any Degree, and for

no

no Length of Time abroad. The Queen had great Goodneſs, but ſhe was not inſenſible; the *Junto* Lords, as they were called, not only parried the Thruſt, by which they preſerved the Queen from ſtill greater Mortification, but they puſhed at the ſame Time; for upon this Motion, they grounded the Bill for a *Regency*, the only real Security the Proteſtant Succeſſion wanted, which they knew not well how to obtain, and of which, though they made the Tories their Inſtruments, yet they took all the Merit to themſelves. At *Hanover*, indeed, they, I mean thoſe eminent Politicians the Tories, made their Court to the Princeſs *Sophia*, who, though far in Years, had great Vivacity of Temper, and would not have been diſpleaſed to contemplate nearer at Hand the Splendor of that Diadem, which it was not at all impoſſible ſhe might one Day wear. But even this, though it might conſole them for the preſent, was afterwards of little or no Service.

In this political Tempeſt Mr. *St. John* did not ride in the Whirlwind, or direct the

Storm but in Conjunction with Mr. Secretary *Harley*, when a Motion of the like Nature was made in the Houſe of Commons, inſiſted upon firſt reading the Bill for a Regency that came from the Lords; and by this dextrous Management defeated it without a Diviſion or a Debate. The Lord High Treaſurer, *Godolphin*, who naturally loved ſoft Meaſures, was very well pleaſed with a Method that did the Buſineſs, and ſaved Wrangling. If you have an Opportunity of converſing freely with ſuch as lived in theſe Times, and are inquiſitive in a proper Manner, you cannot but be informed that, if Secretary *Harley* or Mr. *St. John* had been inclined to fiſh in troubled Waters, they had Opportunities enough; and as inſtead of doing this, they viſibly applied their Parts and Diligence in preventing Things from running into Heats and Diſorders, we ought not to give any haſty Credit to Accuſations unattended with Evidence; againſt a Behaviour ſo apparently the Reverſe of what it is ſuggeſted to have been. The General and the Treaſurer, it is acknowledged, had at this Time

no

no ſuch Suſpicions, and this is a better Argument, that they had no Cauſe for them than any that has been hitherto produced on the other Side. But I proceed now to the enſuing Year, the moſt glorious and the moſt happy of that Reign.

THE Parliament roſe about the Middle of the Month of *March*, after having done every Thing the Government could deſire in a moſt deſirable Manner. I would not have you take this upon my Credit, ſince here is Biſhop *Burnet* at my Elbow, ready to give his Teſtimony in much ſtronger Terms. "Thus this Seſſion of Parliament, ſays his Lordſhip, came to a very happy Concluſion: There was in it the beſt Harmony within both Houſes, and between them as well as with the Crown, and it was the beſt applauded in the City of *London*, over the whole Nation, and indeed over all *Europe*, of any Seſſion that I had ever ſeen: And when it was conſidered, that this was the firſt of the three, ſo that we were to have two other Seſſions of the ſame Members, it

" gave an univerſal Satisfaction both to " our own People at home, and our Al- " lies abroad; and afforded a Proſpect " of a happy End that ſhould be put to " this devouring War, which, in all Pro- " bability, muſt come to a Period before " the Concluſion of the preſent Parlia- " ment. This gave an unſpeakable Satis- " faction to all who loved their Country " and their Religion, who now hoped " that we had in View a good and ſafe " Peace." Hear his Lordſhip a Word or two more, in reſpect to ſuch as at this Juncture were intruſted with Power. " It " bred, ſays he, a juſt Indignation in all, " who had a true Love to their Country, " to ſee ſome uſing all poſſible Methods to " ſhake the Adminiſtration, which, not- " withſtanding the Difficulties at home and " abroad, was much the beſt that had been " in the Memory of Man: And was cer- " tainly not only eaſy to the Subjects in " general, but gentle, even towards thoſe " who were endeavouring to undermine " it." Words could not eaſily be found to ſpeak his Meaning ſtronger.

In Conſequence of that Harmony and Tranquillity which ſubſiſted at home, and the vaſt Supplies that were afforded towards the Support of the War abroad, our Succeſſes, which had been already great and glorious, became now *deciſive*, not in this or that, but in all the ſeveral Seats of this extended War. In *Italy*, Prince *Eugene* beat the Duke of *Orleans* and Mareſchal *Marſin*, who commanded under, or rather over him before *Turin*, raiſed the Siege of that Capital, and obliged the Enemy to a Treaty of Evacuation. In *Spain*, the Siege of *Barcelona* was not only raiſed with Circumſtances of Honour that are ſcarce to be parallel'd in Hiſtory, but a Paſſage was opened to *Madrid*, and King *Charles* the Third might have proceeded to his Capital, if that had appeared of as great Importance to *him* as it did to *us*. In *Flanders*, the Elector of *Bavaria* and Marſhal *Villeroy* were ſo thoroughly beaten, and the Conſequences of their Defeat were ſo mortifying, that the Elector, at the Deſire of the *French* King, wrote to the Duke of *Marlborough*, and to the States-General, to intreat them

to think of Peace. As this was certainly to be made ſome Time or other, and as *France* would very willingly have yielded all the *Italian* Provinces to the Houſe of *Auſtria*; which in reality was what they wanted, rather than *Spain* and the *Indies*, without them; would have given full Satisfaction to *England* and *Holland*, and would have ſubmitted to whatever was preſcribed in reſpect to the other Allies, it is not eaſy to conceive why ſo few of our Miniſters inclined to Peace! But ſo it was, as both Parties agree.

IT is true, that the Houſe of Lords in the preceding Year had addreſſed the Queen to carry on the War till the whole *Spaniſh* Monarchy was in the Hands of the Houſe of *Auſtria*; but it does not appear how this was become of abſolute Neceſſity to *Great Britain*, or how it was to be effected, in ſpite of the Affections of the *Spaniſh* Nation, whom the Diſtreſſes of their King and his Family had made ſo dear to them, that nothing but an abſolute Conqueſt, and a foreign Force ſufficient to awe the Natives, could

could have maintained King *Charles* upon the Throne, of which, as we ſhall preſently ſee, his Brother, the Emperor *Joſeph*, either abſolutely deſpaired, or to which he was not much inclined. It is likewiſe true, that the Reduction of the Power of *France* was laid down as a ſufficient Motive for carrying on the War. This was a very looſe, ambiguous Expreſſion. Her Power was already very much reduced, and her Dominions very much exhauſted in point of Men as well as Money. But Providence was not at our Command, and though continuing the War was abſolutely in our Power, yet the continuing it with Succeſs was not. Beſides all this, the great national Point was not ſufficiently attended to. While we were reducing *France*, we were alſo reducing ourſelves; if *France* and *Spain* bled outwardly, *Britain* and *Holland* bled inwardly. Time and Induſtry would infallibly ſupply the Loſſes of the Enemy; but it might certainly have been *foreſeen* then as well as *felt* ſince, that when *they* had got over *theſe*, *we* ſhould be ſtill labouring under our *Debts*, and be from thence

thence put under the cruel Neceſſity of running ourſelves upon every freſh Emergency, more and more in Debt.

AT the very Cloſe of this Year, ſo fertile in great Events, an Alteration was made in the Adminiſtration at home, by removing Sir *Charles Hedges* from being Secretary of State, in order to make Way for the Earl of *Sunderland*. You will find a very full, and, I believe, a very true Account of this Matter in the Memoirs of the Ducheſs of *Marlborough*. But the Reaſon I mention it here, is becauſe I take it to be the great Point upon which the Queen's Government turned. In the Beginning of her Reign ſhe had given too much Countenance to the Tories, who from thence, as was very natural, which ſome may therefore think very excuſable, framed Projects for preſerving themſelves entirely, and, if that was poſſible, eternally in Power. The Queen prevented this, and ſecured herſelf. Her Miniſtry was now ſo poized that ſhe commanded at leaſt the *beſt* Men of *both* Parties, and to this we ought

ought to aſcribe that Chearfulneſs and public Spirit which diſtinguiſhed the laſt Seſſion of Parliament, and in the Space of two or three more might have brought off a great Majority from all Notions of Faction. But the Whigs were now wild with the Thirſt of Power, and inſiſted upon having one Secretary of State in whom they could confide, and named the Earl of *Sunderland* as the Nail that would go; that is, whom his Father-in-Law, the Duke of *Marlborough*, could drive with the Queen; which, however, that great Stateſman as well General did very unwillingly. He ſaw the Conſequences to himſelf, the Treaſurer, and the Queen, and he felt them almoſt as ſoon as he ſaw them, ſince the Way being once broke, the Tories were ſoon after driven out, and compelled to join their old aſſociates, and to act again as a Faction.

THE very next Year it became but too evident how ill they judged, who looked upon Proſperity to be entailed upon their Arms, whatever *Uſe* was made of it. In *Germany*,

Germany, Marſhal *Villars* carried all before him, rais'd prodigious Contributions as far as *Ulm*, and was very near recovering *Bavaria*. In *Flanders*, the Duke of *Vendome* acted with ſo great Judgment and Diſcretion, that even the Duke of *Marlborough* found it impoſſible to form a Siege or to fight a Battle. In *Spain*, the Army of the Allies, under the Command of the Earl of *Galway*, was totally defeated, and two Thirds of it deſtroyed. At home it was given out, that the Army was compelled to fight to procure Subſiſtance, and that King *Charles* had weakened his Forces by withdrawing ſeveral Thouſand Men, who returned, for the Security of his Perſon only, with him into *Catalonia*. But that Monarch, or at leaſt his Miniſters, publickly declared that the Battle was fought without any Neceſſity, againſt the Advice of the King and his beſt Officers, that his whole Eſcort amounted to no more than a ſingle Regiment of Dragoons; and that in the Liſt of the Forces in *Spain* publiſhed in *England*, many of the Squadrons were purely imaginary, and ſeveral Battalions never appeared

peared any where, except upon Paper. But even theſe Loſſes and Diſappointments, great as they were, ſeemed nothing when compared with the great Deſign which had been ſome years concerting, and which alſo proved abortive. This was the beſieging, and reducing *Toulon*. For this great, this unexpected, and this fatal Miſcarriage many Reaſons have been aſſigned. Biſhop *Burnet* is ſo ingenuous as to ſay, that *it failed chiefly by the* Emperor's *Means*, but he does not tell us how; farther than, what all the World knew of his detaching twelve Thouſand Men from Prince *Eugene*'s Army to conquer the Kingdom of *Naples*. A Project which, it was ſaid, he had undertaken before his Aſſiſtance was deſired in the Buſineſs of *Toulon*, which might be Truth and yet was not the whole Truth. Count *Gallas*, the Imperial Miniſter here, had a Secretary, whoſe Name, I think, was *Primoli*, a very ſubtle, intriguing Fellow, who wormed the Secret of *Toulon* out of the Secretary of the Duke of *Savoy*'s Miniſter here; and as ſoon as this was known at the Court of *Vienna*, and that

that the *Engliſh* Fleet was to be employed in that Deſign, it ſuggeſted the Enterprize of *Naples* as a Thing that could not fail of Succeſs, when the Enemy could not poſſibly receive Succours. This is the Truth of that Matter, as it appeared to the Earl of *Sunderland* by *Primoli*'s Confeſſion; for he cauſed him to be ſeized and examined, which Count *Gallas*, who was then at *Vienna*, reſented highly at his Return, though his Lordſhip had taken the Precaution of deſiring the Imperial Reſident *Hoffman*'s Conſent, who, as he was out of the Secret, gave it without Difficulty. From hence it was plain that the Houſe of *Auſtria* had no Scruple in making the *Common Cauſe* give Way, where its *immediate Intereſts* were concerned. A Circumſtance, that, as it might well be *expected*, was not buried in *Oblivion* by *all* who were then in *Power*.

THE Parliament had met upon a ſhort Prorogation on the fourteenth of *April*, 1707, ſat ten Days, and were then prorogued to *April* the thirtieth, at which Time they were diſmiſſed without Adjournment,

journment, Prorogation or Diſſolution, only the Lord Keeper told them that they were to meet again as Members on the Part of *England*, in the Parliament of *Great-Britain*, and that the Queen would ſignify the Time of their Meeting by Proclamation, agreeable to the *twenty-ſecond* Article of the *Union*. A Proclamation iſſued for this Purpoſe in *June*, directing the firſt Parliament of *Great-Britain* to aſſemble at *Weſtminſter* on the twenty-third of *October*, upon which a Queſtion aroſe, Whether it was an *old* or a *new* Parliament? Mr. Secretary *Harley* was ſo unlucky as to think that the *laſt* Seſſion of a Parliament, which had already ſat two Seſſions, could not be a *new* one; and he farther thought, that new Writs and new Elections were eſſential, or at leaſt ought to be *conſidered* as eſſential to the making a new Parliament; but he was conſidered as a Man of *Forms*, and therefore the *Men* of *Buſineſs* over-ruled him; ſo that when the Houſes met, the Commons were directed to chuſe a new Speaker, and by the Help of this, and ſome other *Forms*, it aſſumed the Face of a new

a new Parliament, and this was ſtiled the firſt Seſſion of the firſt Parliament of *Great Britain*. Things were very far from going there ſo eaſily as they had done in the preceding Seſſion. An Enquiry was made into the Affairs of *Spain*, upon which it clearly appeared, that out of near thirty Thouſand *Engliſh* Troops provided for in *Spain* and *Portugal*, there was between eight and nine Thouſand only at the Battle of *Almanza*, which at firſt was very ill taken in the Houſe of Commons, but at length, upon certain Explanations, the Matter was let fall, which occaſioned many Speculations, and gave very little Satisfaction. Biſhop *Burnet* ſays, that Mr. *Harley* and his Friends acted but faintly upon this Occaſion; which is very likely to be true, if they regarded either the public or their private Intereſts.

ABOUT this Time it was diſcovered, that one *Gregg*, a Clerk in Secretary *Harley*'s Office, had attempted to enter into a treaſonable Correſpondence with the *French* Miniſters. The Method he took was this: Mareſchal *Tallard*, who had been a Priſoner

ner in *England* from the Time of the Battle of *Blenheim*, ſent his Letters open to the Secretary's Office, where, after they had been peruſed, they were ſealed up and forwarded. This, it ſeems, was made Part of *Gregg*'s Employment, who put into the Packet a Copy of the Letter that the Queen was to write in her own Hand to the Emperor, diſtinguiſhing what Parts were drawn by the Secretary and what Additions were made by the Lord Treaſurer. This Packet being opened in *Flanders*, and *Gregg's* Letter found, was tranſmitted to the Duke of *Marlborough*, and as ſoon as it was known from whom it came, the Man was ſeized, and made a full Confeſſion, upon which he was committed to *Newgate*, and in *January* Seſſions arraigned at the *Old Bailey* for High-Treaſon, at which Time he pleaded Guilty. This unlucky Affair, brought heavy Imputations upon the Secretary, and the General and Treaſurer refuſing to aſſiſt at the Cabinet-Council while he continued in her Majeſty's Service; Mr. *Harley*, to deliver the Public from ſuch a Dilemma, as well as the Queen, reſigned

reſigned the Seals on the eleventh of *February*; and ſoon after *Henry St. John*, Eſq; Sir *Thomas Manſel*, and Sir *Simon Harcourt*, who came in with him, laid down their reſpective Employments. But though *Gregg* was ſo ſoon condemned, yet he was not immediately executed. Biſhop *Burnet* tells us, that the Lords appointed a Committee to examine him, who could not find out much by him; he had but newly began his Deſign of betraying Secrets, and he had no Aſſociates with him in it. (He wrote his firſt Letter on the twenty-fourth of *October*, and his Correſpondence was detected before the End of the Year.) Theſe examinations laſted for ſome Weeks; when they were ended, a full Report was made of them to the Houſe of Lords, and they ordered the whole Report with all the Examinations to be laid before the Queen in an Addreſs, in which they repreſented to her, the Neceſſity of making *Gregg* a public Example; upon which, (about the Middle of *April*,) he was executed. He continued to clear all other Perſons of any Acceſſion to his Crime, of which he

ſeemed

ſeemed very ſenſible, and died much better than he had lived. Beſides this, the Lords found that Mr. *Harley* had employed two very *bad* Men as *Spies*, which, whatever it might be then thought, will not at preſent appear any *extraordinary* Diſcovery.

THE great Clamour that was raiſed about theſe Diſcoveries ſerved to countenance the Method that was taken to deprive Mr. *Harley* of the Seals, and to drive him out of the Queen's Councils. But that this was not the real Motive of their Proceedings we have from the higheſt Authority, that of a great Lady, from whom neither of the great Lords reſerved any of their ſecrets. What then was the true Motive? It was ſuſpected that the Queen converſed privately with Mr. Secretary *Harley*. It has been ſaid, though not upon ſo good Authority, that theſe Suſpicions took Riſe from an unguarded Expreſſion of Prince *George* of *Denmark*. The Queen had a Defluxion in her Eyes, as to which there happened ſome

ſome Diſcourſe in the Houſe of Lords, upon this the Prince ſaid inadvertently, *Her Majeſty would ſoon be free from that* Malady, *if ſhe did not ſit up ſo late at* Nights. This occaſioned much Speculation, many Enquiries, and in the cloſe, if we may believe the great Lady, before mentioned, and her Friends, ſeveral important Diſcoveries, which, however, ended in nothing beyond this, that the Queen had preſumed to converſe with one Privy-Counſellor without the Permiſſion, and out of the Hearing of other Councellors: As a juſt Puniſhment for which it was reſolved, that he ſhould be removed from that Poſt he held in the Nation's Service, and the Queen forbid to converſe with him more at her Peril. A Decree worthy of Faction, and moſt indignant to Royalty.

You will obſerve, that I don't give you all or any of this for Goſpel, it is what was then ſaid, and what has been ſince ſaid, and all that thoſe People could, or, at leaſt, would ſay, whoſe Buſineſs it was to ſet this Matter in the cleareſt and beſt Light.

Light. But as the oſtenſible Reaſon of Secretary *Harley*'s being ſuſpected of corresponding with the *French* was quickly diſcovered to be no better than a *Falſehood*, ſo that it is not at all impoſſible that the concealed Motive, then whiſpered in Cabals, ſince publiſhed in private Memoirs, might be in a great Meaſure if not altogether, *fictitious*; nor have there been wanting ſome who have ſuggeſted, that the Truth at the Bottom was no more, than that thoſe who had obliged the Duke of *Marlborough* as the Ducheſs herſelf owns, to force *one* Secretary upon the Queen againſt his as well as her Senſe of Things, gave him now to underſtand, that it was Time to remove the other two, if he meant to retain their Aſſiſtance. The Certainty of which is ſaid to have been collected from the manifeſt Shifting of Votes in the Houſe of Commons; where ſome who one Day helped to perplex, would concur the next to defend that Adminiſtration. But be this as it will, the Removal of Mr. *Harley* in ſo ſudden and ſtrange a Manner was ſo far from giving general Satisfaction to that Houſe,

Houſe, that the Bill for the Supply was ſuffered to lie ſeveral Days upon the Table, and the ſame Deference or a greater was paid him by the moderate Men of all Parties, when he was out, than when he was in Power. His Friends, alſo, who upon this occaſion followed his Fortune, followed likewiſe his Example, and behaved the whole Seſſion with great Temper, Steadineſs and Decency, ſo that they loſt nothing by the ſuperior Power of their Adverſaries — except their Places.

UPON this give me Leave to make a ſingle Remark, and to recommend it to your conſtant Conſideration. They are ſtrangely miſtaken, who fancy that this World is governed by Chance, or that immoral Acts of any Kind can be committed without drawing after them vindictive Conſequences. Great Employments are equally beneficial and honourable, when diſcharged by Men of Capacity and Integrity, raiſed to them purely by merit, and keeping them by the ſame Means through which they were attained. But Faction will ever

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ſet at nought theſe Conditions, and introduce ſuch methods of riſing, removing and retaining, as will render Security, and conſequently ſaving impracticable, ſo that the very ſame Motives which excite a criminal Appetite for Power and Places, will, as every criminal Appetite muſt, defeat its own Gratification, by rendering them not worth the having. If you chuſe to be convinced by Experience, look round upon the Deſcendants of great Men in Diſtreſs, who are numerous and notorious enough to furniſh as ſtrong Proofs, in ſupport of this Argument, as either I need, or you can require.

LETTER VI.

In Rebus magnis, Memoriæque dignis, Conſilia primum, deinde Acta, poſtea Eventus ſpectantur.
Cic. de Orat.

The Miniſtry all of a Piece, and ſupported by an unanimous Parliament. Their Proceedings in reſpect to domeſtic Affairs, and the Concerns of the Britiſh *Nation. Their Conduct in regard to the Allies and to the War. The Nature of the Diſpute entirely changed, the End incertain, and the great Security of Succeſs loſt. By theſe Methods the War became unpopular in* Britain, *and even in* Holland, *while the Spirits of the* French *ſeemed to revive. Theſe were Cauſes adequate to the Effect; and, therefore moſt likely to be the true Cauſes of the Miniſterial Revolution in* Britain. *What is ſaid in Memoirs of the ſecret Conferences of the Queen, falling out of her Women, and impatient under Reſtraint, unequal to ſo great and hazardous a Change. No Imputation on the* Whig
in

in particular, but a Conduct incident to, and inſeparable from a Spirit of Faction. Very dextrouſly and very ably managed by Mr. Harley *and his Friends. Remarks on the fatal Conſequences that attend, and neceſſarily muſt attend, ſuch Struggles.*

I Muſt begin with putting you in Mind that the turning out Mr. *Harley* and his Friends did not produce any Bitterneſs or Violence in the Houſe of Commons, and that in the new Parliament called by and choſen under the Influence of the new Miniſtry, Mr. *St. John* was not a Member, which is a certain Indication, that though poſſibly he might not be without Reſentment, yet he had not any Rancour againſt the great Men who were at the Head of the Queen's Miniſtry. The Adminiſtration, as the Whigs themſelves ſay, and particularly their Right Reverend Hiſtorian, was by this Means become entire and of a Piece, and the Manner in which Things were diſpoſed on the Vacancy of Prince *George*'s Places, might, if there was any Neceſſity, furniſh a ſufficient Proof of it. The Earl

of *Pembroke* was made Lord High A
miral, the Lord *Somers* Preſident of t
Council, and the Earl of *Wharton* Lo
Lieutenant of *Ireland*. The Parliame
alſo was entirely devoted to theſe Miniſte
the Tories ſaw themſelves unable to oppo
with any Probability of Succeſs, and th
this did not bring them into a Concurren
with every Thing that was done, yet it ce
tainly diſpirited them, and that to ſuch
Degree, that they could neither diſappoin
nor ſo much as Clog whatever Meaſur
their triumphant Adverſaries thought fit
purſue. From this Situation of Thin
the higheſt Hopes were entertained, n
could they with any Propriety be ſtil
ſanguine, ſince that implies hoping wi
out Grounds, which was not at all the C
here, more eſpecially as the Allies had
entire Confidence in the Miniſters, wh
aroſe not only from the Reaſon of Thin
but from that Kind of Experience which
of all others the ſureſt Guide in Politic
Let us ſee then what were the Fruits
this Unanimity, what Steps were ta
to ſatisfy the Nation in general, that

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Glory and Intereſt of *Great-Britain* was the ſole Motive in Council and Action: and what Progreſs was made in carrying on thoſe great and ſalutary Deſigns, with the Impeaching of which thoſe Gentlemen had been charged, who were compelled to quit their Employments; that by a ſteady and vigorous Purſuit of military Meaſures, Things might be brought to a ſpeedy Concluſion, and a proſperous War determined by a Peace, which ſhould fix the Tranquillity of *Europe*, and the Safety of *Britain*, upon an adamantine Baſis, that Time itſelf ſhould be hardly able to undermine. Magnificent Promiſes! very publickly, perhaps, a little incautiouſly thrown out, and which were not ſo eaſily executed as they were made.

At home the Parliament, which was the ſecond of *Great-Britain*, tho' the firſt that was ſummoned by the Queen's Writ, voted in their firſt Seſſion an Augmentation of the *Britiſh* Forces of ten Thouſand Men, and granted for that Purpoſe one Million, two Hundred and twenty Thouſand Pounds; and as their Zeal led

them to the like Liberality in whatever reſpected the War, ſo that ſeven Millions were given this Seſſion; there followed a Neceſſity of borrowing near Half the vaſt Sums thus chearfully granted. Upon this the Vigour of public Credit diſplayed itſelf in a moſt extraordinary Degree, the *Capital* of the *Bank* of *England* being doubled by a Subſcription, which was determined in four Hours. The ſame Spirit animated the ſecond Seſſion of this Parliament, which invigorated the firſt, and upwards of ſix Millions Sterling were granted for the public Service in the Year 1709; which amazing Grants, in Compariſon of former Times, being not levied with the ſame Eaſe that they were ſubſcribed, being ſubſcribed by one Intereſt, and the Property of another Intereſt, being mortgaged for the Payment, together with the lengthened Proſpect of the Continuance of the War from the Contemplation of ſome Votes relative to the Terms on which this Parliament conceived it ought to be ended, made many People very uneaſy. Another Circumſtance joined to this made them

ſtill

ſtill more uneaſy. There was an *unuſual Unanimity* in Parliament, very unlike that *Harmony* for which I quoted to you Biſhop *Burnet* in a former Letter, and for which I muſt quote him again, becauſe I would tell you nothing in the Courſe of theſe hiſtorical and political Memoirs as a Matter of Fact, without an unexceptionable Witneſs to vouch it. Hear then that Right Reverend Prelate, who knew very well what he ſaid, and who was above hiding or diſſembling the Truths he knew in favour even of thoſe to whom he always adhered. Speaking of the firſt Seſſion of this Parliament, he ſays, " Things went " on in both Houſes according to the " *Directions* given at *Court*; for the *Court* " being now joined with the *Whigs*, they " had a *clear Majority* in every Thing: All " *Elections* were judged in *Favour* of the " *Whigs* and *Courtiers*; but with ſo *much* " *Partiality*, that *thoſe* who had formerly " made *loud Complaints* of the *Injuſtice* of " the *Tories* in determining Elections, " when they were a *Majority*, were not ſo " much as *out* of *Countenance* when they

" were *reproached* for the *ſame Thing:* They " pretended they were in a *State* of *War* " with the *Tories*, ſo that it was reaſon- " able to *retaliate* this to *them* on the Ac- " count of their *former* Proceedings: But " this did not ſatisfy *juſt* and *upright* Men, " who would not *do* to *others* that which " they had *complained* of when it was *done* " to *them* or to their *Friends.*" This Management naturally raiſed a Clamour without Doors, whatever Tranquillity it ſecured within. Thoſe who were injured, or who thought themſelves injured, repreſented this Conduct as flowing from a ſettled Reſolution of perpetuating that Power in the Party, to the Plenitude of which they were already arrived. Clamour begets Clamour, and a very indiſcreet Contempt ſhewn for the Clergy, upon a Suppoſition that they were, generally ſpeaking, in the *Tory* Intereſt, ſtirred up a Man of no great Note or Character to aim at Popularity by Sermons, in which the Sound was at leaſt as much or more conſidered than the Senſe, and all Defects covered by a melodious Voice, good Figure and a graceful Delivery,

livery. He attained what he ſought, and became the Darling of the Multitude. What there was of *Art* in this I dare not pretend to ſay. In my own Opinion there was little or none, for I ſhould much ſooner ſuſpect the Tories of admiring a Man, and a Clergyman eſpecially, without Merit, very ſincerely, than of pretending to admire him, that they might make a Tool of him, in order to outwit the Whigs. Be that as it will, the Whigs, to ſhew their Parliamentary Power, and to paſs a legal cenſure upon a Doctrine, which, from its Abſurdity, themſelves moſt vehemently declared needed none, had Recourſe to an Impeachment, and in the midſt of a War with *France*, and when a great many other arduous Affairs called for the whole Attention of the public Councils, diverted the Thoughts of the Nation to ſuch Diſputes as were of all others moſt like to affect the public Peace. As they were in full Poſſeſſion of Power, they carried their Point in the firſt Inſtance, the Doctor was tried with great Solemnity, the Leaders of the Party made fine Speeches,

the Lords found him Guilty, and a Sentence was paſſed that did not affect the Criminal ſo much as it did the Proſecution. Or, as the noble Perſon's Expreſſion is, whoſe Writings have occaſioned you this Trouble, *The* Whigs *took it in their Heads to roaſt a* Parſon, *and they did* roaſt *him; but their Zeal tempted them to make the* Fire *ſo high, that they* ſcorched *themſelves.*

IT is now Time for us to look abroad. The Scheme they had formed required that the War ſhould proceed with greater Vigour, and, if poſſible, with greater Succeſs, than before, in order to which they augmented our own national Troops, and inſiſted on keeping them compleat by Recruits from hence at their higheſt Complement. But notwithſtanding this Meaſure they continued the foreign Troops that were in Pay, augmented the Subſidies to ſome of our foreign Allies, and laboured inceſſantly to overpower *France* with Numbers. At the ſame Time, which is very extraordinary, they not only declined ſending any conſiderable Squadrons to the *Weſt Indies,*

Indies, but even treated it in Print as a Thing very idle and inexpedient to truſt the Safety, the Balance, the Tranquillity of *Europe* to Expeditions that muſt depend on the Winds and Waves. That they ſet out in this Way of thinking I ſhall make very plain to you, by obſerving, that the incomparable *Addiſon* was prevailed upon to write a Pamphlet, which is preſerved in his Works, in Support of this Syſtem, in which every Thing is ſaid that could be ſaid for it; and ſaid with as much Senſe and Spirit, and with as much Elegance and Eaſe, as either his Genius could dictate, or our Language expreſs. That they actually proceeded on this Plan, and did all and even more than I have advanced, you may be ſatisfied from the Votes, from the *Gazettes*, and from the Hiſtories of thoſe Times. When you ſhall have conſidered this Evidence maturely, you will be eaſily ſatisfied that the Allies muſt approve and applaud this Adminiſtration, and confide in it too without the leaſt Scruple or Reſerve; and I preſume you will find no great Difficulty in conceiving, that this Adminiſtration

miniſtration might, from thence very rationally, rely upon all the Support and Aſſiſtance that the Allies could give, whenever the requiſition of that became neceſſary or expedient. As theſe were Purpoſes that might be anſwered, and as in Proceſs of Time theſe Purpoſes were actually anſwered, we cannot be thought to attribute too much to their Penetration, in affirming, that they muſt have had them in View. But this will admit of ſtill farther Proof, and it will contribute not a little to the Illuſtration of this Subject, if I lay it before you, which I ſhall ſo endeavour to do as not to render it tedious.

A TEDIOUS, bloody and expenſive War, though attended with Succeſs, muſt naturally create, in the Boſoms of wiſe and prudent People, in every Country, which had a Share therein, a Deſire of being freed from the Maintenance even of neceſſary Burdens, and of ſecuring the Fruits of Victory by a ſolid Peace. But the Allies, at leaſt in general, ſhewed great Alacrity in continuing it, and the Motives

to

to their Conduct were not at all impenetrable. The *Dutch* were in Poſſeſſion of a large and fine Country, conquered by the Confederate Arms, and had the Proſpect of an impregnable Barrier, by which their Safety and Proſperity was to be aſſured in all Time to come. The Emperor had actually acquired all that was to be acquired on the Continent of *Italy*, and was in the full Perception of the Revenues of its richeſt Provinces, together with ſome contingent Advantages. The King of *Spain*, I mean *Charles* the Third, had the Principality of *Catalonia*, with ſome other Provinces, and the Proſpect of having the whole Kingdom conquered for him, with a preſent eſtabliſhment for the Support of his Court. Other Princes found their Account in the progreſs, at the ſame Time that they flattered themſelves with the moſt ſanguine Hopes upon the Concluſion of the War. But, except the Glory of contributing to this in a very high Proportion, our Gains were but very inconſiderable. Add to all which, that by Degrees an avowed Change was made as to the very

End

End of the War, or in other Words, the ſole Condition that was to end it, which by this Time was very peremptorily declared to be the entire Recovery of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy out of the Hands of the Houſe of *Bourbon*. The Work I now ſend you expreſſes this Matter very clearly, in a very ſhort Paſſage, which I will trouble you to read. "Since, there-"fore, ſays Lord *B.* by ſuch Efforts as "could not be continued any longer, with-"out oppreſſing and impoveriſhing theſe "Nations to a Degree that no Intereſt, ex-"cept that of their very Being, nor any "Engagement of aſſiſting an Alliance, "*totis Viribus*, can require; *France* was "reduced, and all the Ends of the War "were become attainable. It will be "worth your Lordſhip's while to conſider "why the true Uſe was not made of the "Succeſs of the Confederates againſt "*France* and *Spain*, and why a Peace "was not concluded in the fifth Year of "the War. When your Lordſhip con-"ſiders this, you will compare in your "Thoughts what the State of *Europe* "would

" would have been, and that of your own " Country might have been, if the Plan " of the grand Alliance had been purſued " with the poſſible, as well as certain, the " contingent, as well as neceſſary, Con- " ſequences of changing this Plan in the " Manner it was changed; you will be " of Opinion, I think, and it ſeems to me, " after more than twenty Years of Recol- " lection, Re-examination and Reflection, " that impartial Poſterity muſt be of the " ſame Opinion; you will be of Opinion, " I think, that the War was wiſe and " juſt before the Change, becauſe neceſſary " to maintain that Equality among the " Powers of *Europe*, on which the pub- " lic Peace and common Proſperity de- " pends, and that it was unwiſe and unjuſt, " after this Change, becauſe unneceſſary " to this End, and directed to other, and " to contrary Ends." Very ſuccinct, and withal, very perſpicuous and very ſtrong.

BUT you may object, and it will be a very natural Objection, that this great Writer, how eloquent ſoever, is but a ſuſ-

picious

picious Witneſs in the preſent Caſe. I readily grant it. But I produce this Paſſage, that you may compare it with another from a moſt unexceptionable Witneſs, Biſhop *Hare*, who, in his celebrated Treatiſe, entitled, *The* BARRIER TREATY *vindicated*, in order to ſhew the Right, the Maritime Powers had to ſettle and adjuſt ſuch a Barrier, delivers himſelf thus: "This, ſays he, will be made very evi- "dent, by conſidering the Deſign and "End of the grand Alliance, for which "the Parties to it engaged in the preſent "War, and the Propoſitions which *Hol-* "*land* made to *France* to prevent the "War. *Firſt*, As to the grand Alliance, "it was not made with any King of *Spain* "in Poſſeſſion, nor any acknowledged or "declared King, nor with any Son of the "then Emperor, but with the Emperor "himſelf, who had indeed good and juſt "Pretenſions to the *Spaniſh* Monarchy; "but the Duke of *Anjou* had gotten Poſ- "ſeſſion, and both *England* and *Holland* "had acknowledged him in that Quality. "And the Allies then had little Reaſon to

"hope

" hope for ſo ſucceſsful a War as ſhould
" enable them to demand the Reſtitution
" of the whole Monarchy. Here is,
" therefore, no King of *Spain* in View,
" for whom the *Netherlands* are to be
" recovered as a Part of the *Spaniſh*
" Monarchy. The Treaty is between the
" Maritime Powers and the Emperor:
" And though by the general Words, Sa-
" tisfaction and Security, they are at Li-
" berty to extend their Demands as far as
" Juſtice and their Succeſs ſhould enable
" them, yet what they ſtipulate for, in
" expreſs Words, is only ſo much as was
" abſolutely neceſſary to prevent the im-
" minent Dangers the Parties contracting
" were in from the Union of the Crown
" of *France* with that of *Spain*. In ſhort,
" all they ſtipulate for, except in Relation
" to Commerce, is, that the *Netherlands*
" ſhall be recovered, not for the Emperor,
" nor for any King of *Spain*, but to be a
" Barrier to the States for the Security both
" of them and *England*, and that *Milan*, &c.
" ſhall be recovered, not to remain as a Part
" of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy, or as the
" Emperor

" Emperor was King of *Spain*, but as
" Fief of the Empire, and as contri-
" buting to the Security of his Imperial
" Majesty's hereditary Countries. So that
" the Maritime Powers are by this Treaty
" to endeavour the Recovery of *Milan*,
" &c. for the Emperor, and the Emperor
" is to do the same on his Part for the
" Recovery of the *Low Countries* for them,
" that the Maritime Powers, and particu-
" larly the States, who are a Barrier to
" *England*, may have them for their Bar-
" rier. For though it be called a Barrier
" for the States, as lying upon the Con-
" tinent between them and *France*, yet does
" *England*, also, find in it its Security;
" and, therefore, the Language that runs
" through the whole Treaty is, *The ob-*
" *taining a particular and sufficient Secu-*
" *rity for the* Kingdoms *and* Provinces,
" &c. *of the King of* Great-Britain *and the*
" States-General." I need only add, that this Piece of the Bishop's was published long after this Change was made, and the Necessity of recovering *Spain* and the *Indies* out of the Hands of the House of *Bourbon*,

Bourbon, inſiſted upon before a good Peace could be made. But after all, it muſt be allowed, that many of thoſe who inſiſted upon this, inſiſted, likewiſe, that it was the original Deſign of the War, and ſaid many plauſible Things upon that Head. The Truth, however, lies within very narrow Bounds. It was not laid down by King *William*, it was not provided for in the grand Alliance, which, on the contrary, goes on the Principle of the Partition Treaties. It was firſt deviſed, as I ſhewed you in its proper Place, out of pure Spite, by that Tory Houſe of Commons, who impeached the Authors of thoſe Partition Treaties. It was adopted, as I have alſo ſhewn you before, by the Houſe of Peers, who acquitted thoſe Lords, that they might have it in Readineſs upon any Occaſion. It was taken up by this Adminiſtration as a proper Baſis for their Proceedings; and thus in the Circle of a very few Years, the Tories and Whigs changed Sides, with Reſpect to this Principle, and in the End, the latter returned the Impeachment with better Succeſs upon the former, and Mr. *Harley*,

Harley, when Lord *Oxford* was acquitted in much the ſame Manner as Lord *Somers*, upon a Charge for making the Treaty of *Utrecht* upon the very Plan of the Partition Treaty, for which, while a Commoner, he had been very active in impeaching that noble Peer. Such is the Connection between Party and Principle! and ſo eaſily can Reſpect to Intereſt, Prejudice or Reſentment prevail even on Men of Senſe, to vary, or at leaſt ſeem to vary, their Notions of Right and Wrong, which, however, retain their Nature, notwithſtanding theſe whimſical Mutations in popular or party Sentiment.

BUT even this was not all: For after thus ſhifting the Terms, upon which the grand Alliance was made, which in itſelf was a very alarming Thing to ſuch as had the Welfare of this Nation, and the Peace of Chriſtendom ſincerely in View, great Suſpicions aroſe in regard to the Sincerity with which the new Terms were aſſigned. For if nothing could lead to a good Peace, but the Evacuation of *Spain* by King *Philip*, it

it ſeemed infinitely more eaſy to bring this about by accepting thoſe Terms, to which *Lewis* the Fourteenth offered to ſubmit. But his Sincerity was queſtioned. True, and very juſtly queſtioned. Yet to remove this Difficulty, an Offer was made by Way of Security, which was equal to any rational Proſpect of Succeſs from the Operation of the Confederate Arms. Beyond this what was demanded? That *Lewis* himſelf ſhould drive his Grandſon out of *Spain*. He offered Money for this Purpoſe, and to contribute to the Expence, in that miſerable State that his Affairs were in, of ſubverting that Fabrick, for erecting which he had plunged himſelf into this Miſery. Even this was rejected, which being ſo plain and practicable a Way of diſpoſſeſſing King *Philip*, it could not fail of raiſing Doubts, whether the Diſpoſſeſſing him was the real, or at leaſt whether it was the only Point aimed at by thoſe who refuſed this Expedient. If that was not their Point, what was? To continue a moſt burthenſome and bloody War without any *certain End* propoſed, gave vulgar Underſtandings

ſtandings violent Apprehenſions, that the Deſign was to make War *without End*. We need not wonder, therefore, that even in the Midſt of Triumphs and Victories, Rejoicings and Thankſgivings, thoſe who bore the Weight of this War, without reaping any Thing from the Advantages reſulting from it, grew gradually out of Temper, and began to breathe out Wiſhes to be delivered from it. Beſides, the Probability of Succeſs was daily leſſened. *France* had ſuffered ſeverely at the Beginning, for embracing an Undertaking ſuperior to her Forces; the Confederates ſuffered in the End, by not avoiding that falſe Step, to which they owed their firſt Succeſs. The *French* ſaved the *Spaniſh* Monarchy by evacuating *Italy*, the Confederates miſſed taking *Toulon*, by the Emperor's undertaking to reduce *Naples* at the ſame Time. The providing for the Continuance of the War in ſo many and ſuch diſtant Scenes of Action grew every Day more difficult and more expenſive, while all our Allies, except the *Dutch*, and they too eaſed themſelves a little, did nothing beyond

beyond what they were paid for doing, and even made a Merit of doing that. On the other Hand, *France* and *Spain* were collected and united, drew immenſe Reſources from the *Weſt-Indies*, and employed thoſe Reſources purely for the Support of the War; and not as they had formerly done, in Bribes, Penſions and other idle Expences. Their Wants were, notwithſtanding, very great, but even theſe turned to our Diſadvantage. Their Troops were meanly paid, and poorly fed; but ſtill this pitiful Subſiſtance was a great Relief to Multitudes that muſt otherwiſe have ſtarved. It may ſeem a Paradox, but it is really a Truth, that in Proportion as their People diminiſhed, they found their Armies more eaſy to recruit. Corn, indeed, they were obliged to pay for; but when they had paid for it, it was to be found in their Magazines, and ſcarce any where elſe, which diſpoſed Numbers to *fight* that they might *eat*. After all, which is very ſingular, amongſt their Troops, but more eſpecially amongſt the *Spaniards*, *Deſertion* was not the Conſequence of *Deſpair*.

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THE Firmneſs of the Allies in their Adherence to each other, which was in Part owing to the Succeſs of the War, and in Part to the vaſt Diſproportion of what was contributed to the Support of it by the Maritime Powers, in Compariſon of the reſt of the Potentates intereſted therein, produced a greater Appearance of Unanimity amongſt the People of *Holland* and *England*, and this for a longer Time than either Experience could recollect, or Hiſtory recorded. But towards the End, this gave Way. Some great and wiſe Men among the *Dutch*, were by no Means ſatisfied with the Hints frequently given by the Imperial Miniſter at the *Hague*, while the Conferences were carried on, that if any Ceſſion was to be made to the Duke of *Anjou*, either of the Kingdom of *Arragon*, or that of *Naples*, or of the Iſlands of *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, that his Maſter would treat that Matter with the Enemy himſelf; and they were the leſs ſatisfied with this, becauſe they had a very good Opinion of that Miniſter, and knew very well that when he talked in a high Tone, he did not talk

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near ſo high as he was inſtructed. The ſame Perſons were not a little diſturbed at the peremptory Manner in which the King of *Pruſſia* threatned to withdraw all his Troops by a certain Day, if the Town of *Gueldres* was not put into his Hands. There were other Points, in which they had been preſcribed to in a Manner that diſpleaſed them, and they were not diſpleaſed without Reaſon. In *Britain* too, there were great Heartburnings and Jealouſies, which proceeded from that cavalier Manner in which certain great Men and their creatures treated all who differed from them in Opinion, which the Duke of *Marlborough* and the Lord Treaſurer, Men of great Wiſdom and Moderation, ſaw with Regret, but were not able to hinder. The Haughtineſs, with which they pronounced their Sentiments as Oracles to be received with Reverence, and not to be diſcuſſed, the Contempt with which they treated all repreſentations, as to the enormous Expence, and continual Augmentation of an immenſe Debt, and the viſible Intereſt that theſe violent Advocates for War had in the Continuance

tinuance of that War, as the Source of their Riches, and the Support of their Power, began to make deep and extenſive Impreſſions upon ſuch as found themſelves pinched by the Taxes already laid, the Proſpect of ſeeing them annually increaſed, and the Fear of having this Load entailed upon their Poſterity; while, on the other Hand, that Spirit of Sedition, which had excited great Stirs in *France*, was in ſome Meaſure ſtifled by the prudent and popular Application of the *Grand Monarque*, to his Subjects; by which he laboured to perſuade them, that though he had offered to ſacrifice the Concerns of himſelf and his Family to procure Peace, it was in vain, and that not barely the Recovery of *Spain*, but the Abaſement, if not the Subverſion of the *French* Monarchy, was the Point now in Diſpute. This Language had its Effects, and the Deſpair of the Nation enabled *Lewis* the Fourteenth to make ſuch Efforts as were beyond any that could have been the Reſult of his Policy and Ambition. It was not for his Glory they fought now, but for their own Safety; the Remembrance of what

what they had been, rouſed them to a Degree of Madneſs; and what Wonder? when from being the firſt in *Europe*, they were threatned they ſhould be no more a People.

It was highly proper that you ſhould have the State of Things, at this critical Juncture, ſet in a true Light, that you ſhould be made acquainted with the real Cauſes of the next Miniſterial Revolution that happened, by which the Whigs were diſcourted, and the Tories brought again in a Body into Places and Power, and that this ſhould be done in ſuch a Manner as to make you clearly perceive, that you are rightly informed, becauſe your own good Senſe will enable you to diſcover that theſe, and theſe only were Motives potent enough to produce ſo ſtupendous an Event. You will find, in many Books of Memoirs and ſecret Hiſtory, a Variety of Tales and Stories, partly true, partly falſe, of Intrigues and Cabals, to which this mighty Change is aſcribed. In that great Lady's Book, which I have more than once mentioned, who for

a Series of Years was Miſtreſs of the Secrets, or rather of the Court itſelf, you will meet with many curious Particulars, which very well deſerve your Notice, becauſe they are Facts, about which it would be impertinent to form Doubts. But then I muſt intreat you to diſtinguiſh, if you mean to underſtand this important Tranſaction clearly, between thoſe Things that diſturbed and diſguſted the Queen, ſo far as to incline her to change her Servants; and the Meaſures that produced thoſe Events, which put it in her Power to execute that Deſign, and to change them in the Manner which ſhe did. There is no Queſtion, that the poor Queen was ſufficiently mortified and chagrined in her public Character, and in her domeſtic Oeconomy. The great Lady tells us plainly, that ſhe was *lectured* and *lettered* upon every Occaſion. The Church, the State, the Army, and even the Houſhold, were the *Peculiars* of the *Miniſtry*, with which ſhe had nothing to do, but comply with the *Recommendations* ſhe received. There is no Doubt that this was irkſome enough to

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her, as a Woman, and as a Queen. She might therefore, or rather ſhe muſt, find this very difficult to bear: and wiſh in her Heart to free herſelf from theſe Conſtraints. She might too, though with great Privacy, vent this to that Servant of hers, who was ſimple enough, for it cannot be called Addreſs, to conſider *her*, in that Court, as her Miſtreſs, and to exert her utmoſt Care and Diligence in doing her Duty, without carrying every Thing ſhe ſaw and heard where other People carried it, and where if it had not been expected that ſhe would have carried it, ſhe had never been placed about her. It ſeems, from theſe authentic Memoirs, that Prince *George*, in his laſt Year, ſympathized with his Conſort in Complaints, and that was all; and it would have been all that the Queen could have done, even if Mr. *Harley* had now and then ſeen her in private, if public Affairs had not taken the Turn they did, and if Plenitude of Power had not, as is commonly the Caſe, turned the Heads of ſome otherwiſe able Men.

You muſt not imagine from what I have ſaid, or from what I may ſay, that I have any Intention to give you ill Impreſſions of the Whigs, and much leſs that I aim at defeating that Intention for which you were ſent, where you now are, or would contribute to weaken your Affection for Whig Principles. By no Means are theſe my Inclinations; and, therefore, I think it highly requiſite to tell you ſo in expreſs Terms. The ſincere and generous Love of Liberty; the manly Reſolution of oppoſing arbitrary Power wherever it appears; a deep Veneration for our mild, our equal, our excellent Conſtitution; a filial Reverence for the Laws, as the Means of Happineſs, as well as the Meaſure of our Obedience; and a Diſpoſition to prefer the Good of the Whole, to every private Conſideration whatever; are Principles, inconteſtably right, founded in Truth, in Juſtice, and in the Nature of Things, and which, therefore, are, and muſt be for ever Rules of Conduct to him who would be a good Subject and a good Citizen. But what I aim at ſhewing you is this, that as through

through Corruption the beſt Things are converted into the worſt, ſo Whigs acting upon factious Views are as much and as bad a Faction as any. In this I ſay no more, than Biſhop *Burnet* has already ſaid, than every honeſt Man ought to ſay, and will ſay, if he means to maintain that Character, and of the Truth of which if you are not convinced, you may be very eaſily miſled into the worſt of all Notions, which is that of believing you may be a *good Whig* without being a *good Man*. While the Adminiſtration was compounded of the wiſe and able Men of both Parties, and ſupported in Parliament by a Majority of moderate and diſcreet Perſons, who made the Sentiments they had contracted in their Youth give Way, upon all Occaſions, to the public Intereſt, Things were happily conducted, and ſuch a Harmony eſtabliſhed, as in the Compaſs of a very few Years would have produced a glorious Effect, that is, would have excited a public Spirit, that would have firſt kept under, and in Proceſs of Time eradicated all party Notions. This might be, and this pro-

bably was the Deſign and Intention of the General and the Treaſurer, who were thoroughly acquainted with both Parties, and who would willingly have ſelected whatever was juſt and good from either, and have rejected the reſt. But as in the Beginning of the Queen's Reign, they were puzzled and embarraſſed by one Set of Men, ſo in the Middle of it they were hurried and driven on by another Set, both acting from the ſame Paſſion, that of obtaining an unlimited and excluſive Poſſeſſion of Power, which may, indeed, anſwer private Purpoſes well, but never can anſwer national Purpoſes at all. It was this that was plainly, and beyond Contradiction, the Source of all thoſe Miſtakes that have been before pointed out. It was this that induced them to forget thoſe juſt and practicable Ends, for retaining which the War was begun, and which are very clearly and expreſsly ſet forth in the grand Alliance, which ought to have been their unalterable Guide. It was this that induced them to flatter themſelves with the Hopes of ruining inſtead of reducing *France*, and hindered

dered them from perceiving that the Meaſures they were purſuing, in order to this, had a real tendency to exhauſt, and conſequently to ruin themſelves. It was this that inclined them to court, and to comply with ſuch as concurred with them in theſe Meaſures, without attending to the Motives upon which they concurred, led them to make bad Bargains with ſome of the Allies, and to loſe their Intereſt at home, with thoſe who are and muſt be the ſtable and permanent Support of every Government, in order to obtain the Favour of ſuch as will maintain and aſſiſt any Adminiſtration while they are Gainers by it. In fine, it was this that put them upon perſecuting Opinions, which, if abſurd, were not worth perſecuting, and, which if generally diffuſed, it was dangerous to proſecute, but which at all Events it was indiſcreet and imprudent, to bring before the higheſt Tribunal, in order to make tthe World believe that Superiority of Power can add any Sanction to Right or Reaſon. Give me Leave to add at this Diſtance of Time another Thing, that, perhaps, ſince the

World began there cannot be another Inſtance produced, where thoſe who were poſſeſſed of Power, and exerciſed it with a high Hand, laboured at the ſame Time to eſtabliſh the Legality of Reſiſtance, which after all that can be ſaid about it, muſt be ſubject to ſo many Difficulties, that it is infinitely ſafer and better, at leaſt, for a Government to let the Diſpute ſleep, and to rule in ſuch a Manner, as that their Subjects may never think of reviving it.

THOUGH this Subject has already compelled me to take up more of your Time than I inclined to do, and to give you my Thoughts more at length than my Cuſtom has been upon other Occaſions, yet I find myſelf ſtill under the Neceſſity of intreating your Patience, in Reſpect to a few Remarks, which, I apprehend, are yet wanting to make you fully comprehend an Event, which, If you would have a juſt and practical Knowledge of our political Hiſtory, can never be too well underſtood. That the Whigs violated their Principles, when they became a Faction, has, I think,

been

been made evident to you, and, conſequently, that they acted amiſs. But conſidering them as a Faction, and purſuing the ſingle Aim of every Faction, preſerving and augmenting their Power, their Conduct will ſtand in quite another Light. Men may act wrong upon right Principles, and they may act right upon wrong ones; and if this be any Merit, it ought in many Caſes to be allowed them. The great Point they had to labour was, to cheriſh and keep up our national Averſion to *France*, for which I have already accounted, and have ſhewn you that ſuch as ſoothe it, cannot fail of deriving great Advantages from thence, and of being thought, for a Time at leaſt, ſound Patriots, though they ſhould have ſcarce any other Kind of Merit. This, therefore, was an eaſy Taſk to manage, and manage it they did with all the Spirit and Addreſs imaginable. In Conſequence of the ſanguine Notions advanced upon this Topic, they were obliged to puſh the War vigorouſly in all the different Scenes of Action, and beyond all Doubt, they did this likewiſe

likewiſe to the utmoſt. In order to be able to do this, it was requiſite to employ very warm Profeſſions of Reſpect and Kindneſs for the Allies, and to make theſe appear the pure Effects of Sincerity, to act upon certain Occaſions with much Complaiſance, in which they did not fail. To preſerve their Influence at home, they were obliged, in every Diſpute to conſider rather the Merits of Men than the Merits of the Cauſe, and though they could not but be ſenſible of the great Injuſtice of ſuch a Proceeding, yet the ſame Motives that compelled them to it, compelled them likewiſe to avow it, ſince the great End of taking ſuch bold Steps would have been loſt, if they had received any other Colour than that of ſerving the Party. They were conſtrained to vindicate all Meaſures taken, eccleſiaſtical, military or civil, and to find Reaſons for them, becauſe Infallibility belongs as much to a Faction, as to a Pope. Confeſſing one wrong Step is admitting a Poſſibility of Error, which a Faction never will do, becauſe its own Intereſt becomes the Standard of Right and Wrong; and, therefore,

fore, if this be conſulted, they cannot admit of any Sort of Blame. This created an urgent Neceſſity of ſeeking aſſiduouſly, and graſping tenaciouſly every Thing that fell in their Reach, that by providing for their numerous Herd of Dependants, they might at once ſtrengthen themſelves, and prevent any of contrary Sentiments from being the better for them. In reference to ſuch a Syſtem as theirs was then become, all this might be good Policy; but ſuppoſe a Man at free Liberty to examine it, and to bring it to the true Taſte of public Utility, of Courſe it might be eaſily expoſed. In this, without Queſtion, Mr. *Harley* and his Friends availed themſelves of their own Abilities, and ſet the Proceedings of their Adverſaries in whatever Point of View might contribute moſt to leſſen their Credit with the People. They hinted, that, notwithſtanding all the Outcries againſt *France*, thoſe who were for prolonging the War did not ſo much aim at hurting her as at helping themſelves: That the Charge of the War had been continually increaſing, and that though

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from the Beginning we bore a very large Proportion of the Expence, this Diſproportion had been ſwelling all along between us and the Allies, ſo that the more they got the leſs they ſpent; whereas, with regard to us, the more we had paid the more we might pay. They took, perhaps, in ſome Caſes, Things by the wrong Handle, and imputed that as a Crime, which in Fact was only a Misfortune. For inſtance, it was inſinuated, that the making an offenſive War in *Spain* was equally againſt the Rules of good Senſe and the Laws of War, to which not only the Loſs of the fatal Battle of *Almanza* might be imputed, but even the Miſcarriage at *Toulon*, ſince the Troops which the *French* had in *Rouſſillon* were recalled for the Relief of that Place. But if they had continued upon the Defenſive, in that Kingdom, would not this have afforded Room for as high or a higher Charge, had not this Charge been actually brought before an offenſive War was made in that Kingdom? And if ſo, how was it to be carried on without being liable to Cenſure? If any of the Allies were remiſs, or ſeemed

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to be remiſs in the Proſecution of the War, this fell upon the Adminiſtration; and yet if they had ventured upon any vigorous Step in Reſentment of this, by which an Ally had been loſt, the Outcry would have been ten Times ſtronger. That the *Dutch* were gratified to the full Extent of their Demands, in the Buſineſs of their Barrier, was made a great Offence; and yet, the procuring them ſuch a Barrier was one of the original Cauſes of the War, and one of the few Points upon the Continent, which might be called an *Engliſh* Point. But, as Biſhop *Burnet* has obſerved, Factions act againſt each other as if they were in a State of War, and without conſidering any Thing, except how it may ſerve the Cauſe they have to promote. This was the moſt extenſive War, and for that Reaſon the moſt expenſive War, in which till this Time we had ever been engaged; immenſe Sums were levied for the Support of it upon the People, and beſides theſe, the Nation had incurred a heavy Debt. A Suſpicion that ſome Part of theſe Sums might be ſunk or miſapplied improperly, or needleſsly

leſsly beſtowed, was eaſily thrown out, and from that malicious Credulity which reigns, and will ever reign in the World, could not fail of meeting with Belief; ſo that Materials were by no Means wanting to excite or to ſupply that popular Clamour, which is equally neceſſary to hunt out or to uſher in a Miniſtry. By a dextrous Circulation, therefore, of true and falſe, juſt and unjuſt, well and ill grounded Complaints, a Spirit was raiſed, that by Degrees gave ſuch Tokens of its Strength, as ſhewed it might be relied on, and that if any Alterations were made at Court, they would not fail of being ratified by the Voice of the Populace, and the Votes of the People.

THUS you will obſerve, that in this Struggle, as in all Struggles of the like Nature, the Morals and the Intereſts of the Nation were exceedingly expoſed. Both Sides pleaded Neceſſity, though both deſerved it, yet neither would ſubmit to Blame. Thoſe who were on the Point of loſing Power looked upon their own

as the public Concern. Altering the Adminiſtration, as it then ſtood, was treated by them as ſubverting the Government, and all who concurred in it were branded with the moſt odious Denominations. This Language was returned with equal Petulance and Fury, and the Charge of ſubverting the Government was retorted, by aſſerting that a great Progreſs had been made in changing the Conſtitution. But weigh the Matter coolly, and you will find that the Tories purſued pretty near the ſame Meaſures that the Whigs had done before. When they took Umbrage at ſome Notions of Mr. *Harley*'s, they blew up the Affair of *Gregg*, magnified certain Inadvertencies in his Office, and would willingly have repreſented him as a Friend to *France*, and inclined to make a Peace upon bad Terms. Upon this, ſome Perſons of the higheſt Rank refuſed to conſult with him, and in the Midſt of this dark and myſterious Cloud of Suſpicions, he was under the Neceſſity of giving Way, that public Buſineſs might not ſtand ſtill. He did accordingly give Way, and his Friends followed him; but now the Tables were turned, and new

Doubts,

Doubts, new Jealouſies, new Suſpicions were raiſed; they thought themſelves at Liberty, it ſeems, to apply the ſame Means to eject others, that had been practiſed in ejecting them. Inſtead of a ſecret Correſpondence with *France*, they ſuggeſted, that the Intereſts of this Nation had been ſacrificed to Foreigners; inſtead of alledging any Deſign of making a bad Peace, they gave broad Hints of a Reſolution taken to make no Peace at all. The Church of *England* and the Conſtitution was the Cry recommended to the People, and very fine ſounding Words they were; ſo that inſtead of wondering how ſo great an Impreſſion was made, we have the ſtrongeſt Reaſon to believe, that if the new Adminiſtration had been really tinctured with that Spirit with which they have been ſo loudly charged, they might have carried Things farther than they did. But all this will appear more clearly, when I come to give you a ſuccinct Repreſentation of this Change, and of thoſe Principles upon which it was really made, at leaſt on the Part of the Queen, and thoſe whom ſhe principally truſted and employed.

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LETTER VII.

Invidia Virtute parta, Gloria, non Invidia putanda eſt.

Cic. in Catil.

The great Importance of underſtanding this Miniſterial Revolution, to a young Gentleman qualified to ſit in Parliament. The many Obſtacles in the Way of thoſe who laboured to overturn the Whig-Miniſtry. Methods uſed to ſecure the Queen, the Clergy, and the People. Oppoſite Meaſures, though well conducted, fail, and are retorted. The Biſhop of Sarum's *Doctrine, that a Parliament choſen thro' Influence, is no legal Repreſentative. The Parliament meets, and is opened by a very plauſible Speech from the Throne. Duke of* Marlborough's *conſummate Prudence in his Conduct, on this critical Occaſion. The ſingular Dexterity with which the Chancellor of the* Exchequer *brought the unliquidated Debts into a regular Order, and procured an immediate Supply from the monied*

monied Men, notwithſtanding their contrary Engagements. The Attempt of Guiſcard *on the Life of Mr.* Harley, *and its Effects. The laſt, and not leaſt glorious Campaign of the Duke of* Marlborough, *and the State of the War in* 1711. *Death of the Emperor* Joſeph, *and the Influence this Event had upon the Affairs of* Europe. *Our Miniſtry bend their Attention to a general Peace as early as their Neighbours. Project of reducing* Quebec, *concerted under the Auſpice of this Miniſtry. Reaſons which render it probable this Scheme was well intended. Objections cleared, and Cenſures anſwered, with a Hint of the true Cauſes why it miſcarried. Famous Charge of Corruption in the Conduct of this Expedition, which, however, is not ſo certain as it has been commonly believed. How a thorough Knowledge may be acquired of the Conduct of Mr. Secretary* St. John, *in the Negotiation of Peace. Proceedings in the next Seſſion of Parliament, conducted chiefly by Mr. Secretary* St. John. *Subſtance of their Repreſentation to the Queen, as to the increaſing*

creaſing Expence of the War. What was intended by, and what were the Conſequences of this Repreſentation. Anſwered by the States-General, and replied to by Mr. Secretary St. John. *A ſuccinct View of his Behaviour in all the great Employments he diſcharged at this Juncture. Created Viſcount* Bolingbroke, *and Baron* St. John, *with the Remainder of thoſe Honours to his Father, Sir* Henry St. John.

IT is not eaſy to name any Subject, that can be of greater Conſequence to a Perſon in your Situation, and of your Expectation, than the Diſcuſſion of this Miniſterial Revolution, ſince there never happened any Change more remarkable in this Country; from which you may be more inſtructed; or by which you may be better entertained. We live at a ſufficient Diſtance from thoſe Times, to be free, at leaſt, from all perſonal Prejudices; we have ſufficient Lights to inſtruct us; and if with theſe Helps I ſhould miſlead you, it muſt be the Effects of my Want of Capacity, and not of Candour: For as I know there is nothing that

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can be worth your Attention but *Truth*, ſo I dare promiſe I ſhall never abuſe your Confidence, in demanding it for any Thing elſe.

WE have ſeen, in general, the Methods that were purſued, to diſſolve an Adminiſtration, compoſed of Perſons eminent for their Abilities, poſſeſſed of large Fortunes, moſt of them thoroughly acquainted with Buſineſs, and knowing how to draw from the Poſts they enjoyed, all the Helps, an extenſive Influence could give, towards preſerving them. An Adminiſtration confided in by the *Allies*, befriended by what was ſtiled the *money'd Intereſt*, high in Reputation from *foreign*, and if we may be allowed the Expreſſion, from *domeſtic* Victories, and ſecure of the *Parliament* then ſitting. Theſe were Difficulties that Men muſt have very great Courage, to entertain ſo much as Hopes of overcoming; very great Capacities, to frame a Scheme that had even a Probability of ſucceeding; and very great Coolneſs and Preſence of Mind, not to loſe or bewilder themſelves in

in the Execution: The very attempting it was a Boldneſs, bordering on Temerity; the Proceeding hazardous in every Reſpect; and the Miſcarriage big with ſo many fatal Conſequences, that the ſole Apprehenſion of them, might very eaſily have produced a Dizzineſs, capable of diſconcerting the beſt adjuſted Project, ſince human Wiſdom can contrive nothing out of the Reach of a Multitude of unforeſeen Accidents. This is but a faint Picture of the Circumſtances thoſe Men were in, who undertook to bring about this Change; and you will eaſily underſtand from hence, how exalted a Compliment they make to the Memory of Mr. *Harley*, who affirm that he *alone* contrived and conducted it in the firſt Digeſtion; and that others were no more than his Inſtruments.

THE firſt Point, was abſolutely to ſecure the Queen; that is, to fix in her a ſteady and determined Reſolution to purſue the Meaſures ſuggeſted to her, notwithſtanding all the Arguments and Applications of every Kind, that it might,

and

and muſt be foreſeen, would be offered to diſcourage, diſpirit, or divert her. Some have ſuppoſed, that the whole Scheme was not opened to her at once, but that ſhe was gradually drawn from one Step to another. But the very Contrary of this ſeems infinitely more probable; for if ſhe had not been promiſed a total Deliverance, it is not to be conceived, what could be propounded to her, to balance the Hazards ſhe ran, in a partial Removing of thoſe who were grown diſagreeable to her. In order to effect this, ſhe was continually put in Mind of the Victory gained over her, in the Affair of Mr. *Hill*'s Regiment, when by the Duke of *Marlborough*'s going out of Town, and the Menaces of an Addreſs from the Houſe of Commons to remove Mrs. *Maſham*, ſhe was conſtrained, by a Letter under her own Hand, to let his Grace know, that ſhe gave up the Diſpute, and that he might diſpoſe of the Regiment as he thought fit. She was put in Mind of her being *carried to School* every Day, for that was the Phraſe given to her Attendance on *Sacheverel*'s Trial, to hear Things that, conſidering the Family

Family from which ſhe ſprung, and the Sentiments in which ſhe was bred, muſt be extremely diſagreeable to her; and the putting her in Mind of theſe, and many other Inſtances of that ſtrict Diſcipline under which ſhe was kept, obliged that Princeſs to recollect many offenſive and mortifying Paſſages, to which even theſe private Friends of hers were Strangers. The next Thing was to ſecure the People, and for this Purpoſe, the moſt effectual Meaſures were taken both by Diſcourſe and Writing. In the latter, ſome of the greateſt Men amongſt thoſe, who aimed at an Alteration in the Miniſtry, condeſcended to employ their Pains and their Pens, which diſtinguiſhed them from other Performances, and in Reference to the former, the Bulk of the Clergy, throughout the Kingdom, ſerved them with great Induſtry, and Zeal, from the Alarm taken at the Affair of Dr. *Sacheverel*. As ſoon as their Succeſs in both theſe Points was thoroughly known to themſelves, it was judged for their Intereſt, that it ſhould be no longer a Secret to the World. They knew that the Repu-

tation of Power is Power, they knew the Parliament, as it then ſtood, was againſt them; and, therefore, to balance this, they thought it neceſſary to ſhew they had the People. To do this effectually, and with Eclat, they procured Addreſſes, penned in the faſhionable Stile of the preceding Reigns of the Queen's Father and Uncle, and under Pretence of taking Poſſeſſion of a Living, the late *Criminal*, now looked on as a Kind of *Confeſſor*, made a Progreſs from *Oxford* to *Wales*, and was received and careſſed wherever he came, in a Manner that fed his own Vanity, and anſwered their Purpoſe. Such were the previous Steps to this Reſolution, which were ſo dextrouſly managed, that they ſeemed to riſe naturally from Events, and, conſequently, were aſſerted to be the ſpontaneous Senſe of the Nation, manifeſted in the Fulneſs of their Heart, and without any Management at all, which was denied and diſclaimed with the very ſame Warmth, with which it was exerted.

THE Parliament roſe, *April* 5, 1710, and

and the Lord High-Treaſurer, *Godolphin*, went immediately after to *New-Market*. He was there when the Queen took the firſt Step, about ten Days after the Prorogation, which was giving the Marquis of *Kent*'s white Staff, as Lord Chamberlain, to the Duke of *Shrewsbury*. But at the ſame Time, ſhe created that Marquis a Duke. Her Majeſty ſignified her Intention to the Treaſurer, and told him that, *She hoped he would approve of all her Actions*; but the Anſwer he wrote her ſhewed that he did not, and ſhewed it in very ſtrong Terms. This, in thoſe Days, was looked upon as an ambiguous Meaſure; but thoſe who were in the Secret, knew that it was the Signal. Things reſted, however, for about two Months, and then the Earl of *Sunderland* was removed from being Secretary of State, and the Seals given to the Lord *Dartmouth*. As this excited ſome Alarm, the Queen directed Mr. Secretary *Boyle* to qualify it, by ſome palliative Declarations to foreign Courts, that they might not apprehend any Alteration in her Meaſures. In three Months Time very great Changes were

made, the Treaſurer was diſmiſſed from his high Office in the Beginning of *Auguſt* and a Commiſſion appointed; Mr. *Harley* being one of the Lords, and Chancellor of the Exchequer. About a Month after, the Earl of *Rocheſter*, her Majeſty's Uncle was made Preſident of the Council, in the Room of Lord *Somers*; *Henry St. John* Eſq; Secretary of State, in the Place of Mr. *Boyle*; Sir *Simon Harcourt*, Attorney General, inſtead of Sir *James Montague* and the Great-Seal being taken from Lord *Cowper*, was for ſome Time put into Commiſſion. On the 21ſt of *September*, a Proclamation iſſued for diſſolving the Parliament, and a few Days after, another for calling a new Parliament, which was to meet in *November*. All poſſible Methods had been tried to ſhake the Queen's Reſolution. The Governor and ſome of the Directors of the *Bank*, acquainted her with their Apprehenſions as to public Credit; the Miniſters of the Emperor, and of the States-General, ſuggeſted the Uneaſineſſes theſe Changes muſt infallibly give to her Allies; without Doubt the

theſe made ſome Impreſſion, though not ſo great as was expected; on the other hand, great Pains were taken to perſuade the Nation, that theſe Hints to a crowned Head were very high Indignities, as they had a Tendency to take from the Queen, the free Choice of her own Servants.

AT a Juncture when Parties run ſo high, there can be no great Wonder made, at the Heats which appeared in ſome Elections. Biſhop *Burnet* ſays, the Practice and Violence now uſed, went far beyond any Thing he had ever known in *England*, and adds thereupon this memorable Remark. "By *ſuch Means*, above *three* Parts in *four* "of the *Members* returned to Parliament, "may at *any Time* be packed: And if *free* "Elections are *neceſſary* to the *Being* of a "*Parliament*, there was *great Reaſon* to "*doubt*, if this was a *true Repreſentative* "duly elected." The Right Honourable *Henry St. John*, Eſq; was choſen Knight of the Shire for the County of *Berks*, with Sir *John Stanhouſe*, Baronet, and alſo Burgeſs for *Wotton Baſſet*, with *Richard Goddard*,

dard, Eſq; but made his Election for the County; and in general thoſe, who were in Sentiments oppoſite to the old Miniſtry, were, upon the Returns, a great Majority, as in ſuch a Situation of Things might be well expected. In a very little Time after, the former Parliament was diſſolved, and a new one called; the famous periodical Paper was ſet up, entitled, *The* EXAMINER, the firſt twelve Papers of which were ſuppoſed to be written by Mr. Secretary *St. John*, Dr. *Atterbury*, Mr. *Prior*, and other Perſons of Diſtinction, who were equally conſpicuous for their great Capacities, and their thorough Knowledge of the then State of Things, which eſtabliſhed the Reputation of that Performance, and enabled it to operate powerfully upon Elections. Amongſt theſe, there was *one* Paper which was ſo generally attributed to the Secretary, that it was commonly called Mr. *St. John*'s *Letter* to the *Examiner*. I ſend it you for that Reaſon, and that you may diſcern his keen Abilities as a Writer; for in this ſingle ſhort Paper, are comprehended the Out-lines of that

that Deſign, upon which ſo great an Author as Dr. *Swift* employed himſelf for near a Twelvemonth, did his Party infinite Service, and gave the Friends of the old Miniſtry inexpreſſible Diſquiet. It is, without Queſtion, a maſterly Performance in its Way, and in that Light worthy Notice.

His Grace the Duke of *Marlborough* was at the Head of the Army, and in the Field, when theſe great Tranſactions happened. He had paſſed the *French* Lines, and had taken *Doway*, before he could have any poſitive Intelligence of them; his Friends, Lord *Cowper*, Earl of *Godolphin*, Lord *Somers*, Duke of *Newcaſtle*, Duke of *Devonſhire*, Earl of *Orford*, Lord *Halifax*, and Mr. *Boyle*, wrote to him in the ſtrongeſt Terms, not to reſign his Command. This was acting like Friends and Patriots, but it ſhews, at the ſame Time, that they had no Apprehenſion of his Command being taken from him. His Grace followed their Advice, reduced *Bethune*, *St. Venant*, and *Aire*; after which he put an End to the Campaign.

In *Spain* the Allies were victorious in the Summer, and vanquiſhed in the Autumn; the Battles of *Almanara* and *Saragoſſa*, the former won by General *Stanhope*, and the latter gained by Count *Staremberg*, opened once more a Paſſage for King *Charles* to *Madrid*, where he met with a very cold Reception, and from which he was in a little Time forced to retreat. In that Retreat eight *Engliſh* Battalions, and as many Squadrons, were the Victims of the *German* General's Jealouſy, who ſuffered them to be made Priſoners of War. Yet the very next Day he fought the Enemy upon unequal Terms; and though he claimed the Victory, yet he retired with his Army in a ruined Condition into *Catalonia*; ſo that by the Time the Parliament met, Things were pretty clear, as to the Poſſibility of conquering *Spain*; though the new Miniſtry had appointed a public Thankſgiving for the Succeſs of her Majeſty's Arms in *Flanders*, and the Victory gained in Support of his Catholic Majeſty; which ſhews, that they were deſirous of carrying on a ſucceſsful War, till the Enemy ſhould be obliged

obliged to put an End to it. Or, as the *Examiner* expreſſed it by their Order a little before the Seſſion, "We have not "the leaſt Reaſon to doubt, but the en- "ſuing Parliament will aſſiſt her Majeſty "with the utmoſt Vigour, until her Ene- "mies *again* be brought to *ſue* for *Peace*, "and *again* offer ſuch Terms as will make "it both *honourable* and *laſting*; only with "this Difference, that the Miniſtry, per- "haps, *will not* again *refuſe* them." At the Opening of this Parliament, the Queen made a Speech, ſignifying her Reſolution to ſupport and encourage the Church of *England*, as by Law eſtabliſhed, to preſerve the *Britiſh* Conſtitution, according to the Union, and to maintain the Indulgence, allowed by Law to ſcrupulous Conſciences. Sir *Simon Harcourt*, to whom the Queen had given the Great-Seal, with the Title of Lord Keeper, had previouſly directed, in her Name, the Commons to chuſe a Speaker, and they accordingly elected *William Bromley*, Eſq; Member for the Univerſity of *Oxford*. As the Adminiſtration had a clear Majority, they made ve-

briſk Uſe of it, by voting forty Thouſand Men for the Sea Service, the like Number for the Army in *Flanders*; and paſſed the Bill for a Land-Tax of four Shillings in the Pound before *Chriſtmas*. In all this, Mr. Secretary *St. John* made a great Figure, for hitherto the Miniſter relied chiefly upon him; and his Vigilance and Vivacity were univerſally confeſſed, though not univerſally applauded, by Men of both Parties.

THE Duke of *Marlborough* returned towards the Cloſe of the Year, and finding the Earl of *Orford* removed from the *Admiralty*, beſides this the Earl of *Wharton* from the Lieutenancy of *Ireland*, and two great Men, who ſtill continued in Power, alienated in their Affection; he apprehended, with good Reaſon, more Trouble from his Winter than from his Summer Campaign. His political like his military Conduct, was noble, ſteady, and particularly diſtinguiſhed by that Calmneſs, which can proceed only from the higheſt Degree of Courage. He perceived, that the Ducheſs had entirely loſt that great Intereſt ſhe once had in her Royal

Royal Miſtreſs; he, therefore, carried a Reſignation of all her Places to the Queen, who immediately beſtowed her two great Offices of Groom of the Stole, and firſt Lady of the Bed-Chamber, on the Ducheſs of *Somerſet*, and put the Privy-Purſe into the Hands of Mrs. *Maſham*. This wiſe Conduct ſecured his Grace from theſe perpetual Altercations, to which he muſt have been otherwiſe expoſed, and which would have added to thoſe Difficulties he was already under; whereas this had ſo good an Effect, that her Majeſty ſhewed him all Marks of Civility and Eſteem poſſible, exhorted him to live upon good Terms with her Miniſters, and laboured to excuſe ſome Things which ſhe knew muſt make him uneaſy. But though this was neceſſary, ſince by the Advice of his Friends, he determined not to reſign his Poſt, yet it did not at all reſtrain him in the Houſe of Lords, where he ſpoke his Sentiments freely in the Queen's Preſence, ſupported his Friends firmly, and juſtified the Earl of *Sunderland*'s Letter, which produced the offenſive War in *Spain*; and the Battle of *Almanza*,

Almanza, by the only Argument that could juſtify it, which was, that though the Charge on that Head was managed with great Heat, yet it would have been maintained with equal Warmth, and better Arguments, if he had recommended a defenſive War; and if either Miniſters or Generals were to be cenſured from Events, when it was evident that they had acted according to the beſt of their Judgment, it would be impoſſible to eſcape Cenſure, becauſe Events were not in the Power of Men, though Maturity in Deliberation, and Uprightneſs in reſolving were; and to expect more was equally unreaſonable and unjuſt.

IT was generally believed, and very much relied on by the Opponents of the new Miniſtry, that they would find themſelves embarraſſed in raiſing the Supplies, which ſhews you what Things Parties are; for as hitherto they had ſhewn a good Diſpoſition to carry on the War, none that thought this a right Meaſure, could wiſh to ſee them embarraſſed in this Particular.

At

At their firſt Entrance on Buſineſs, however, they certainly were, but the Chancellor of the *Exchequer* was not deſtitute of an able Operator in Funds, ſince he had Mr. *Blunt*, afterwards the famous Sir *John Blunt*, in his Service, who quickly removed theſe Difficulties, and by deviſing a Method of ſettling the unliquidated Debt, by the Creation of a *South-Sea* Company, and the never failing Scheme of a Lottery, enabled his Maſter to boaſt of reſtoring public Credit. In Return for this ſhort Embarraſſment, and to ſhew that all Parties, when they obtain Power, act alike; they paſſed ſome warm Votes, relating to many Millions unaccounted for, Frauds in the Victualling the Navy, and other Things of the ſame Nature; about which, though a great Noiſe was made, there was no great Matter at the Bottom; and this Nation might eſteem herſelf happy, if ſhe had any Security, that all who may meddle in her Finances, ſhall be as free from Corruption as the Earl of *Godolphin* and his Succeſſor, of whom we may ſay, as the Queen did of the Ducheſs of *Marlborough*, *that*

that Cheating *was not* their Crime. The Commons voted a Million more than was raiſed: Strict Attention was paid to every Branch of the Service, and that they might not ſeem to forget their Patriot Promiſes upon becoming Miniſters, a Law paſſed this Seſſion for fixing the Qualifications of Knights of the Shire and Burgeſſes as they now ſtand, from which great Things were expected, and by which it is very poſſible that much more has been done than is commonly imagined. To ſhew their Care of foreign as well as domeſtic Affairs, the Earl of *Peterborough* was ſent to *Vienna*, the Earl *Rivers* was deſigned Miniſter to *Hanover*, and the Earl of *Orrery* to the *Hague*. The Command of the *Britiſh* Forces in *Portugal* was given to the Earl of *Portmore*, and his Grace the Duke of *Argyle* was ſent to command in *Spain*.

IN the Month of *March*, in the enſuing Year, and before the Parliament roſe, a very ſtrange Accident happened, that made a great Noiſe in the World, and is ſaid to have had ſome conſiderable Conſequences. The Marquis

Marquis *Guiſcard*, a *French* Refugee, who had met with great Kindneſs and Favour here till it was diſcovered that he did not deſerve it, became ſo much enraged at the Loſs of Part of the Appointments, which he formerly received, and all Proſpect of future Preferment, though by his own Fault, that he endeavoured to reconcile himſelf to the *French* Government, and was believed to have entertained a cruel Deſign of taking away the Queen's Life. This Man's Treaſons being diſcovered, he was ſeized in the Park, by a Warrant from Mr. Secretary *St. John*, and carried to be examined by a Committee of Council to his Office, where having picked up a Penknife in an outer Room, he deſired to ſpeak with the Secretary in Private, which being refuſed him, and that Gentleman ſitting out of his Reach, he turned ſuddenly upon Mr. *Harley*, and ſtabbed him dangerouſly in the Breaſt, repeating the Blow with a Purpoſe of diſpatching him, when his Weapon broke, and the Blade was left in the Wound. It was very evident, that in this wicked and barbarous Tranſaction,

Mr.

Mr. *St. John*, as well as Mr. *Harley*, H
a very narrow Eſcape, and the latter l
ſome Time ill. When he came afterwar
to the Houſe of Commons, the Speaker,
their Order, made him a Speech full of hig
Compliments, which was ridiculed by t
Whigs, as an egregious Teſtimony of the
Meanneſs of party Spirit, as it was very
well known they were not Friends. How-
ever, it ſeems to be agreed, that this Acci-
dent had great Effects in that Gentleman's
Favour, ſince this, and the Reſpect ſhewn
him by the Houſe of Commons, gave the
Queen the Opportunity ſhe wanted, and
which ſhe readily embraced, of creating
him Earl of *Oxford*, at the ſame Time, be-
ſtowing upon him, the much envied Office
of Lord High-Treaſurer of *Great-Britain*.
However, the Luſtre of theſe new Honours
drew after them very ſpeedily the dark
Shade of Envy, out of which he could
never emerge.

THE Duke of *Marlborough* made, in
1711, his laſt Campaign, againſt the *French*,
with a View, as his Friends ſaid, to de-
monſtrate

monſtrate his Zeal for his Queen, his Country, and the common Cauſe. His Conduct juſtified all that his Friends ſaid, to the full; for in Point of military Skill, few, if any, of his Campaigns were more glorious. Marſhal *Villars*, the moſt able, and the only fortunate General the *French* had, gave out in his frank Way, and, perhaps, it was neceſſary to keep up the Spirits of his Troops, that his Lines had put a Stop to the Progreſs of the Allies, and that the Terror of the Duke of *Marlborough*'s Arms ſhould reach no farther. His Grace, however, on the 5th of *Auguſt*, by mere Dint of ſuperior Abilities in his Trade, paſſed thoſe Lines not only without Loſs, but without Reſiſtance; by which *Villars* was expoſed to the Ridicule of the whole World, and even of his own Countrymen, whom Nature has ſo much diſpoſed to *Mirth*, that upon this, as well as upon many other Occaſions, they could not help making a *Jeſt* of their own *Misfortunes*. After this Triumph over the beſt General in *France*, the Duke may be ſaid to have obtained a greater Victory over himſelf. There

was

was nothing that could have contribute more to his Reputation, nothing that coul have been more advantageous to the com mon Cauſe; and, conſequently, nothin that he more deſired than to bring th *French* to a Battle; to which he was al preſſed by the *Dutch* Deputies, who had ſo often reſtrained him upon more proper Occaſions. But the Duke, conſidering that his Troops, after all, were but Men, that his Cavalry had marched more than thirty Miles that Day, that the *French* Army was freſh and in good Order, and that the Advantages ariſing from a Victory, were not to be compared with the Difficulties, that, in Caſe of a Check, muſt have attended his Retreat, through a Country every where interſected with Rivers, and in which he had not one good Poſt, very wiſely declined fighting. But that he might draw ſome conſiderable Benefit from the Situation his Army was then in, he reſolved, contrary to the Sentiments of ſome of the ableſt Perſons about him, and particularly of the *Dutch* Field Deputies, who yielded only out of Deference to his Judgment, to

inveſt

veſt *Bouchain*. A Place well fortified, and almoſt impregnable from its Situation in a Moraſs, which, nevertheleſs, he reduced in the Sight, and notwithſtanding all the Oppoſition that could be given him by the *French* Army. The Detachments he had been obliged to make, and the Neceſſity there was of Prince *Eugene*'s marching with the Imperial Troops to cover the Diet of Election at *Francfort*, put it out of his Power to do more; and, indeed, that he did ſo much was equally the Wonder of his Friends, and of all the Candid, and Impartial, amongſt thoſe whom Intereſt, Prejudice, and the Violences of the Times had rendered his Enemies. In *Savoy*, in *Spain*, and on the Side of *Portugal*, there was very little done, and though this furniſhed Matter of Complaint to ſome, yet ſuch as conſidered how unjuſtifiable a Thing it is to be prodigal of human Blood, where there is little or no Proſpect of any real Benefit to ariſe from ſhedding it, were ſatisfied this Inactivity deſerved no ſuch Cenſure.

THE

THE Death of the Emperor, which happened upon the 11th of *April*, had altered the Face of Affairs in general so much that all competent Judges of such Things, who were not biassed by their Interest, saw plainly, that a Peace must be speedily concluded, since the Ends upon which it was begun could no longer be promoted by the Prosecution of the War. The Duke of *Savoy* was aware of this, and began to have new Notions, as to the Safety of his own Dominions, and the Concerns of his Family; for though he had hazarded both to an extreme Degree for the common Cause, yet he did not think fit to sacrifice them, in order to aggrandize any Power, or to gratify the Ambition of any other Family whatever. In *Spain*, those who adhered to King *Philip*, stuck to him more closely than before; and those who had fallen from him, endeavoured to reconcile themselves as fast as they could, being thoroughly satisfied, that if *Spain* and the *Indies* remained to him, they should in a little Time recover their Independency; whereas if they became Part of the hereditary

ditary Dominions of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, they were not ſure, after the Demiſe of their preſent Monarch, *Charles* III. as he was then ſtilled, to whom they ſhould belong, but they were very ſure they ſhould be only a Province, let them belong to whom they would. The King of *Portugal* being ſenſible of this, and from the perfect Knowledge he had of the World, no leſs ſenſible that all hopes of conquering *Spain*, againſt the Intereſt of the Conquerors, as well as againſt the Inclinations of the People, were entirely out of the Queſtion, bethought himſelf how he might beſt get out of the Situation he was in, and acquire, at leaſt, a Part of thoſe Advantages that had been promiſed to bring the Crown of *Portugal* into it. All this was natural, and no Fault could be found with theſe Princes for entertaining ſuch Sentiments.

THERE is no Doubt that our new Adminiſtration had their Eyes turned to a general Peace, as ſoon as the reſt of their Neighbours; but it is highly likely, alſo,

alſo, that they did not loſe Sight, for all that, of the propereſt Meaſures for continuing the War, or for continuing it with Vigour, and in ſuch a Manner, as might be moſt for the Credit, and moſt for the Advantage of this Nation. It was very natural, it was very fit for them to do ſo, ſince there was nothing plainer, than that they could never expect to make a ſafe and honourable Peace by any other Means. *Harley*, *St. John* and *Harcourt* were never thought ſhallow Fellows, and let them be ſuſpected of what they would, nobody ever entertained a Suſpicion, that they wanted Abilities for their reſpective Places, or that they were content to hurt themſelves that they might vex the oppoſite Faction, without any Reſpect to the Welfare of their Country. For theſe Reaſons, I think, I may demand your Belief, that ſo long as they found it neceſſary to continue the War, which I grant was for as ſhort a Seaſon as poſſible, they likewiſe intended to carry it on with Succeſs.

AMONGST other Projects for this Purpoſe,

poſe, I reckon that in which Mr. Secretary St. *John* had a very great, if not a chief Hand, for reducing *Quebec*, and abridging the *French* Power in *North America*. You may have heard this railed at and ridiculed as an idle Tory Project, fooliſhly contrived, and madly executed; nay, you may meet with ſome, who will not bluſh to aſſure you, that it had not a worſe End than was expected, and that none were leſs affected by the Miſcarriage than the Authors of it. But, as theſe are wild and improbable, if you conclude them alſo to be falſe and groundleſs Reports, you will not, as far as I am able to learn, be very much in the Wrong, as I ſhall endeavour to convince you in very few Words, and then you will know what to think of the Repreſentations one Party makes of the Deſigns of another.

THERE had been a Deſign of a like Nature attempted, under the Reign of King *William*, as unproſperous as this; ſo that failing in it could not be criminal. The very Scheme now carried into Execution

tion had been approved by the Lord Treasurer, *Godolphin*; and Sir *Thomas Hardy* and General *Macartney* were to have commanded the Fleet and the Forces; from whence we may conclude, it was not either a frivolous or a fooliſh Deſign: And as to the Miniſters, particularly Mr. Secretary *St. John*'s being in earneſt, you cannot eaſily entertain any Doubt, if you read his Letters inſerted in Sir *Hovenden Walker*'s Account, and conſider that the Command of the Troops was given to General *Hill*, Lady *Maſham*'s Brother. They muſt be ſtrange Politicians indeed, who would plot againſt themſelves, or even neglect any Precautions in their Power, for the Support of an Enterprize, in which both their Intereſts and their Reputation were at Stake. Plauſible Arguments may incline us to believe ſtrange Things; but there is no believing on bare Suggeſtion, backed by bold Aſſertions, againſt ſuch concluſive Reaſons.

BUT it has been ſaid, and I freely own to you, not without Truth, that there were ſome

ſome conſiderable Miſtakes committed in the very firſt Digeſtion of this Deſign. The Ships that were employed were too large; they had not any, or at leaſt, they had not enough Perſons on Board, who were well acquainted with the Navigation of the River *St. Lawrence*; and they made too long a ſtay upon our own Coaſts. Theſe, and ſome leſſer Inconveniences might have been prevented if the *Admiralty* had been conſulted; but Secretary *St. John*, and his Friends were ſo tenacious of their Secret, and had ſo great a confidence in ſome, who were then intruſted with the Management of publick Affairs, in the Northern Colonies of *America*, that they flattered themſelves with the Hopes of ſurprizing both Friends and Foes, by ſtriking a great Stroke in that Part of the World, and of preſerving the Conqueſts that this Armament ſhould make by the general Peace, they had in View. If in this they were diſappointed, they might be unfortunate, but they were not culpable, even allowing the Miſtakes they committed, ſince they were ſuch as they could not foreſee, and

after all, the Miſcarriages and Loſſes of this Expedition were in Reality owing to Negligence, Inactivity, Backwardneſs and ſomething worſe in certain Perſons in *New-England*, where the *French* had their Agents, and where thoſe Agents had but too much Influence. As the Succeſs of this Deſign would have done the Authors of it great Honour, ſo the Want of it expoſed them to much reproach. They were charged with concerting this Enterprize while the Parliament was ſitting, without aſking their Advice, or even acquainting them therewith; though it is evident, that if they had done ſo, it muſt have been divulged to all the World. They were cenſured for ſending out a Squadron victualled for a ſhort Time, when Proviſions and Stores might have been furniſhed without any Difficulty; but their Aim was to conceal their real Intention from the Enemy, by victualling the Fleet ſhort, upon a Suppoſition, that they would find every Thing they could want provided for them in *America*. They were blamed for not having ſkilful Pilots; and theſe too were to have

have been furniſhed in *New-England*, where there were ten People acquainted with the Navigation of the River of *St. Lawrence*, for one that could have been found here. And in fine, they were bitterly inveighed againſt, for withdrawing a few Regiments from the Duke of *Marlborough*'s Army; as if cruſhing the *French* Power, and extending the *Engliſh* Empire in *America*, had not been of as much Conſequence, at leaſt to this Nation, as having three or four Thouſand Men more or leſs in *Flanders*, making Conqueſts for our good Allies. Whatever Rectitude there was in their Intentions, they were unlucky in the Execution of them; and this, in that Time of Confuſion, was ſufficient to expoſe them to Clamour and Calumny enough; and which is worſe, diſabled them from doing that Service to the Nation, which ſtill remained to be done. I mean reducing the *French* Power in *Canada*, or ſettling on that Side a good Frontier for us.

THERE is another Point relating to this Expedition, of which you have heard, or

at leaſt, will probably hear, if you converſe with ſuch as lived in thoſe Times, and were well acquainted with what was then doing. It is this, that the Sum of twenty Thouſand Pounds was gained from the Public, or, in plain Terms, that the Nation was cheated of that Sum, by the Contrivance, or at leaſt, with the Knowledge of Mr. Secretary *St. John*. It is very certain, that the then High Treaſurer, the Earl of *Oxford*, informed Queen *Anne* of this in a Paper addreſſed to her Majeſty, and likewiſe took to himſelf the Merit of preventing this from falling in the next Seſſion, under the inſpection of the Houſe of Commons, Yet when this Aſſertion of his was converted into an Article of Impeachment, and himſelf charged with impeding Juſtice by ſuch a Concealment, he alledged in his own Defence, that the Reaſon he hindered it from coming before Parliament was, that upon a cloſe Examination, the Proof was not clear, and he judged that a Seaſon very improper for commencing ſuch an Inquiry, when it could not be fully made out. He further adds, that

that the Papers upon which he grounded his Opinion, had been long in the Hands of the Houſe of Commons, which impeached them both; and he had not heard that they thought them ſufficient Foundation for ſuch a Charge. A Circumſtance, which rather proves his Miſtake, than his Antagoniſt's Miſbehaviour. You will likewiſe conſider, that at the Time the Earl's Paper was ſent to the Queen, theſe two noble Perſons were at open Variance, which Circumſtance might very poſſibly give Things the Appearance of Conviction, that when more cooly conſidered, did not riſe quite ſo high. As to this, however, the Facts being before you, it is not at all my Intention to give any Bias to your Judgment, but leave you free to decide, or to ſuſpend your Thoughts about it, as on the whole ſhall ſeem moſt reaſonable.

As ſoon as the Emperor's Death could be well known at *Paris*, Propoſals were made by the *French* King to *Great-Britain*, to put an End to a War that had already laſted as long as that of *Troy*, by a general

Peace. Theſe Propoſitions, dated *April* 2, 1711, were ſigned by the Marquis *de Torcy*, and were tranſmitted as ſoon as poſſible to the Queen's Miniſter, then Lord *Raby*, at the *Hague*, with Orders to communicate them to the States, who, by their Anſwer did not ſeem to be at all diſpleaſed; but on the contrary were very willing and ready to deliver themſelves from a Weight which, they freely confeſſed, was too heavy for them to bear. It would require a volume, inſtead of a Letter, to diſcuſs the Conduct of Mr. Secretary *St. John*, through the long Courſe of this perplexed Negotiation, you cannot therefore expect it in a Letter: But that you may not complain of my leaving you in the Dark, in Reference to one of the moſt material Tranſactions of his Life, I ſend you a little Piece, in which his Conduct upon this Head is pretty fully repreſented; and by comparing it with the Reports of the Secret Committee, and taking in what you will find delivered relating to this Affair in his own Writings, I believe, you will be able to form as true a Judgment of his

Conduct

Conduct as any body; and though, very poſſibly, it may not contribute to heighten your Sentiments of him as a Miniſter and Negotiator, yet I am confident it will give you clearer Notions of the Peace of *Utrecht*, than otherwiſe you are like to acquire; and as in obtaining theſe you muſt neceſſarily get a clear Inſight into the State of *Europe* at that Juncture, the Intereſts of its ſeveral Powers, the Time and Pains it will coſt you, I dare promiſe you, will be well employed, as it will defend you from falling into popular or party Snares, and teach you to think freely and juſtly upon Topics, that ought to be thoroughly underſtood by every Gentleman of Family and Fortune in *Great-Britain*. A Thing, which duly attended to by ſuch of our Youth, as have either a Certainty or Probability of coming into Parliament, would make us the greateſt and happieſt Nation upon Earth.

THE next Seſſion of Parliament began *December* 7, 1711, and in her Speech from the Throne, the Queen acquainted the two Houſes, *that notwithſtanding the*

Arts of thoſe that delight in War, both Time and Place were appointed for the Opening of a Treaty. But in Spite of all this, which was indeed too much the Language of Party, an Addreſs was carried in the Houſe of Lords, repreſenting it as their Opinion, "That no Peace could be ſafe or honourable to *Great-Britain* or *Europe*, if *Spain* "and the *Weſt-Indies* were to be allotted to "any Branch of the Houſe of *Bourbon*;" which has been generally conſidered as the Reaſon of her Majeſty's calling up the Lords *Compton* and *Bruce*, and creating ten new Peers before the End of that Month. In the Houſe of Commons the Commiſſioners of Accounts charged the Duke of *Marlborough* with taking a conſiderable Sum annually from thoſe who made the Bread Contracts, and Two and a Half *per Cent.* out of the Pay of the foreign Troops, which Sums amounted in the Whole, during his Command, to upward of Half a Million. In Reſpect to the firſt, the Duke acquainted them, that it was a Perquiſite belonging to the Commander in Chief, and that in Regard to the

the latter, it was a free Gift from the foreign Troops, and was intended and employed for gaining Intelligence, being leſs than was granted on that Head during King *William*'s War; notwithſtanding which they voted it public Money, and to be accounted for. Upon this, a Proſecution was directed, and under Colour of that Proſecution, the Duke of *Marlborough* diſmiſſed from all his Employments. There is little Doubt to be made, that the Report which then prevailed of the Miniſtry's being glad to lay the Duke aſide, was not without Foundation; and, therefore, they were forced to take up with this, ſince upon the ſtricteſt Examination they could not find a better. The great Truſt of managing the Affairs of the Adminiſtration in Parliament during this Seſſion, was committed to Mr. Secretary *St. John*, who, to influence the Nation in their Sentiments of the long Continuance of the War, and to excite the moſt earneſt Deſire of Peace, employed himſelf with indefatigable Diligence, in drawing up the moſt accurate Computations, as to the Number

of our own Troops, the Number of Foreigners, and the Sums paid by Way of Subſidies during the Courſe of the War; which was certainly as dextrous and as efficacious a Piece of Management as had, perhaps, till then been attempted in Parliament, being a double-edged Weapon, that cut both Ways.

AFTER much Debate, and after the moſt mature Deliberation, the Houſe of Commons attended her Majeſty with a Repreſentation, ſhewing the Hardſhips the Allies had put upon *England* in carrying on this War, and of conſequence how neceſſary it was to come in Time at ſome Relief. They ſhewed firſt, that the Expence of *England*, in the Beginning of the War, amounted to but about three Millions, ſeven Hundred Thouſand Pounds; but was now increaſed to ſix Millions, nine Hundred Thouſand Pounds, and upwards, chiefly by being obliged to ſupply the Deficiencies of her Allies: That the States-General were frequently deficient two Thirds of the Quota of Shipping they ſtipulated

ſtipulated to provide, which not only increaſed the Charge of the *Engliſh*, but was the Occaſion of great Damage to the Royal Navy, and the Deſtruction of the Merchants Ships, which were deſtroyed for want of Convoys, the *Engliſh* Men of War being employed in other Services; and that the *Dutch* had alſo been deficient in the *Netherlands*, upwards of twenty Thouſand Men of their Quota of Troops; that the whole Burthen of the War, almoſt, in *Spain* and *Portugal*, had of late been thrown upon the *Engliſh*; the *Dutch* had every Year leſſened their Troops in *Spain* and *Portugal*; and the Emperor, who was moſt nearly concerned, had no Troops at all in Pay there, till the laſt Year of the War, and then but one ſingle Regiment; that on the contrary, the *Engliſh* did not only maintain ſixty Thouſand Men in the *Spaniſh* War, but the Charges of the Shipping only employed in that Service, amounted to above eight Millions Sterling; and in ſhort that *England* had expended in the War beyond its Quota, above nineteen Millions of Money, all which the late Miniſtry

niſtry had not only connived at, but, in many Inſtances, contrived and encouraged upon private Views. That the greater our Succeſs had been, the heavier had been the Burthen on the Part of *England*, and that new Dominions were daily conquered for the Allies, while they abated their Share of the Expence, and it could not be expected they ſhould every be weary of enlarging their Territories at the charge of *England*, eſpecially when even the Revenues of the conquered Countries were not applied to the carrying on the War. That though *Britain* had borne as great a Share of the War as the whole Confederacy, no Advantages had been ſtipulated for her; but on the contrary, the late Barrier Treaty with the *Dutch* was deſtructive to our Trade, and the putting *Newport*, and other Places in *Flanders* into their Hands, made the Trade of the *Engliſh* to the *(Spaniſh) Netherlands* precarious, and the Strength of that Country, which *Britain* had ſo largely contributed to reduce, might hereafter be employed againſt *Britain* itſelf.

THE

THE primary Deſign of this Repreſentation, was to juſtify the new Reſolutions that had been taken, of obliging the States to compleat their Quota of Men and Ships, by declaring, that otherwiſe the Queen would leſſen her own Forces in a juſt Proportion. But beſides this, it was calculated to perſuade the Nation, that the cloſe Connexion which had ſubſiſted, and which ſtill continued to ſubſiſt between the Friends of the old Miniſtry, and the Allies was founded in their reciprocal Intereſts, to which that of *Great-Britain* was ſacrificed. It ſerved farther to juſtify the new Manner in which they pretended to carry on the War in Caſe the Allies inſiſted upon carrying it on at all Events, by *Great-Britain*'s fulfilling her Engagements, without going beyond them, and exacting from the reſt of the Allies, that they ſhould, alſo, perform theirs. This Scheme being very plauſible in itſelf, and coming to the Queen and her Subjects, backed with ſo high an Authority, as the Repreſentation of the Houſe of Commons, gave great Countenance and Credit to their Proceedings,

ings, as they carried the Air of Inſtructions to thoſe, by whom in Reality they were dictated.

IT was ſome Time before this long Repreſentation could reach the Hands of the States, and it required ſome Space to conſider and frame an Anſwer to it; during which the Declarations were made, and the Meaſures taken that were adviſed therein, and the Negotiations between *Great-Britain* and *France* were carried ſo far, that the Queen, in a Speech to both Houſes, communicated the Plan upon which a general Peace might be made, at the very Time this Anſwer from the States-General arrived. It was certainly drawn up with much Clearneſs and Candour, and in Terms which demonſtrated to impartial People, that the States, conſidered as Truſtees for their own Nation, were very little to blame. Yet Mr. Secretary *St. John* drew up a ſhort Reply to it, with ſuch Spirit and Addreſs as entirely enervated its Force. The States had alledged, that by the grand Alliance both Powers had engaged

engaged to exert their utmoſt Force, and that, therefore, they had fully complied with their Engagements in doing all that they could. They enlarged on the great Superiority of *Britain*, in Point of Wealth and Power, which made it reaſonable for her to out-do her Allies. They diſputed the Truth, or rather the Method of ſome Calculations, inſiſting that the Ships they employed in the North Sea, ought to be conſidered as a Part of their Quota. They aſſerted, that *Great-Britain* had often exceeded, more eſpecially in the *Mediterranean* Service, in the Courſe of a Campaign, the Proportions ſettled at the Beginning of the Campaign; but that this ought to throw no Blame upon them, if their Quota was agreeable to the original Stipulation; and they inſiſted, that the Revenue ariſing from the Country in which their Barrier lay, was very much below what it had been repreſented. The Secretary extracted, from this Anſwer, ſuch Principles as fell in with thoſe of the Repreſentation, as it is viſible many of them do, and concluded from thence, that if their High

High Mightineſſes had acted with great Prudence and Frugality during the Courſe of the War, it was high Time for *Great-Britain* to imitate their Conduct at the Cloſe of it; and dwelt very ſtrongly upon their pathetic Remarks, as to the Weight of that Burthen which they had ſuſtained, inferring that it was high Time for the Maritime Powers, upon whom the whole Expence of the War now lay, to think of getting out of it as ſoon as they could, by a ſafe and advantageous Peace.

THIS may ſerve as a Specimen of the Secretary's Conduct, upon whom at this Juncture the great Weight of Buſineſs lay; and though it is generally ſaid, and which is more, as generally acknowledged, that even at this Time he gave a great Looſe to his Pleaſures, and availed himſelf very little of thoſe Helps to Buſineſs that ariſe from Method; yet his very Enemies even then allowed, and Events will ever prove the Truth of it to Poſterity, that he managed with great Dexterity, and executed the ſeveral high Employments, in which he

he then acted, with ſingular Facility and Capacity. As a Stateſman and a Miniſter, he had prodigious Difficulties to ſtruggle with. Moſt of the foreign Courts we had any Tranſactions with, and of Conſequence, their Miniſters, were continually prying into, and taking Exceptions to his Meaſures, and that with a certain Fierceneſs, which ſometimes drove him to Extremities. The Buſineſs of Count *Gallas*, the Imperial Miniſter, who printed, without Ceremony, whatever Papers were communicated to him, and was continually complaining, if Papers were printed by any body elſe, made a great Noiſe, and he was at length forbid the Court. The *Hanoverian* Miniſter, Baron *Bothmar*'s Memorial made ſtill more Noiſe, and put the Secretary under yet greater Inconveniences. The Letter from the States-General to the Queen, in Support of their Anſwer to the Repreſentation of the Houſe of Commons, out-did both theſe, and was likewiſe publiſhed from the Preſs. With all theſe Embarraſſments, the Weight of a moſt intricate and important Negotiation lay upon his

his Shoulders, and while his whole Time might have been taken up in repelling these Attacks upon his Conduct at home, he was obliged to furniſh Inſtructions for the Queen's Miniſters abroad, who could, and who would do nothing, but in Purſuance of his Directions. As an Orator in the Senate he exerted every different Kind of Eloquence; he ſtated all the great Points that were brought before the Houſe; he perſuaded, he illuſtrated, he ſupported the Reſolutions that were taken upon them; he anſwered Objections that were made, and maintained by the acuteſt Men in the Kingdom, and who, to their great Abilities in ſpeaking, joined a perfect Acquaintance with Buſineſs, which affords an almoſt inexpreſſible Weight to an Oppoſition. As a Courtier too, he had many, and very nice Affairs upon his Hands, and was obliged to enter into, and manage private Intrigues of a very nice and delicate Nature, in the Midſt of his Application to public Buſineſs. So that if you take into your View the whole Circle of Concerns that occupied his Thoughts at this Juncture,

and

remember at the ſame Time that he not without his Foibles and his Vices, cannot but conceive of him a very h and extraordinary Opinion; and in- d of being ſurprized at thoſe Irregulari- s and Eccentricities that upon a very cri- al Enquiry were diſcovered in his Con- uct, you will rather ſtand amazed at the ucceſs which attended his endeavours, nd that in Spite of the Imperfections, which even his Friends muſt acknowledge n his Character, he was able to do what e did, and to ſupport himſelf and his arty againſt ſuch a Spirit of oppoſing, uch a Weight of Influence, and ſuch a orrent of Abuſe as at this Juncture both hey and he ſuſtained. He was, if you leaſe, a Leader of Faction, but he was a ery able Leader; he was a Man of Plea- ſure and Indiſcretion, but he was, not- withſtanding, a Man of vaſt Abilities; he was, in ſhort, after all that the ſevereſt Critics could ſuggeſt, and after all that Envy and Malice could invent, a very ex- traordinary Genius, whom while we blame, we muſt admire, and whom, if any Reſpect

be

be due to Parts, to Application, or to the Power of atchieving great Things by Dint of them, we muſt commend.

THE Parliament being prorogued in the Beginning of *July*, it was ſoon after known that her Majeſty had been graciouſly pleaſed to ſign a Warrant for a Patent's paſſing the Great Seal to create Mr. *St. John* a Peer. This Honour it ſeems had been intended him before, but his Preſence being ſo neceſſary in the Houſe of Commons, the Lord Treaſurer prevailed on him to remain there during that Seſſion, upon a Promiſe that his Rank ſhould be preſerved to him. Accordingly he was by Letters Patent, under the Great Seal, created Viſcount *Bolingbroke*, and Baron *St. John* of *Lidyard Tregoze*, with Remainder, in Caſe he died without Iſſue Male, to his Father, Sir *Henry St. John*, Baronet, and his Heirs Male. You will obſerve, that I have before mentioned to you, that *Paulet St. John*, Earl of *Bolingbroke*, deceaſed in the Month of *October* preceding this Creation, by which the Earldom became extinct, though the Barony

ny of *Bletſhoe* did not. It is not alto-
ier improbable, that conſidering the
at Services he had done, and the great
amours to which he had been expoſed,
r. Secretary *St. John* expected that the
d Title ſhould have been revived in his
avour; at leaſt, it is certain, that he was
ot entirely ſatisfied with his new Honour,
which gave the Lord Treaſurer, and the
eſt of the Miniſtry no ſmall Uneaſineſs;
he Conſequences of which, as ſoon as I
ave a little Leiſure, ſhall be the Subject of
another Letter.

LET-

LETTER VIII.

Ut enim neceſſe eſt Lancem in Libra, Ponderibus impoſitis deprimi; ſic Animum perſpicuis cedere.

The Scope of theſe Letters does not require Strictneſs and a regular Method, farther than is neceſſary to Connection and Perſpicuity. The Lord Viſcount Bolingbroke's *Journey to* Paris; *the Reaſons ſuggeſted by the Whigs, and by Lord* Oxford, *compared with what appears on this Head from the Queen's Inſtructions. The procuring* Sicily *for the Houſe of* Savoy; *a Meaſure of a public Nature, and for the common Benefit of* Europe, *which was the Reaſon her Majeſty recommended it ſo warmly in theſe Inſtructions. Upon what Motives the Queen would have conſented that the Iſland of* Sardinia *ſhould have been given to the Elector of* Bavaria: *But though very attentive to the general Intereſt, ſhe was very cautious of entering on every trifling Occaſion into Guaranties, which muſt*

put

put her People to freſh Trouble and Expence. There is as little Probability as Evidence, that he held any Correſpondence with the Court of St. Germains, *as has been ſince reported, during his Stay at* Paris. *Methods practiſed by the Oppoſition to render the Peace ſuſpected, and the Miniſtry odious, while it was negotiating. Particular Inſtances thereof, in regard to this Commiſſion of his Lordſhip's. Suppoſing this fair during the Struggles of Parties, great Care ſhould be taken to prevent theſe temporary Invaſions of Truth from deceiving Poſterity, and corrupting Hiſtory. The more neceſſary, becauſe if this Care be not taken, and taken in Time, it will certainly have this Effect, and engage the World hereafter to conſider as Cauſes and Effects things utterly unconnected. Without removing theſe Notions, there is no coming at the important Queſtion, what political Judgment ought to be formed of the Treaty of* Utrecht? *This, notwithſtanding all that has been ſaid and written, is a Subject far from being exhauſted. What are the proper Points to*

be

be regarded in this Inquiry. The previous Objection, that the Britiſh *Miniſters ſtood precluded by the grand Alliance from receiving any Propoſitions from* France. *Anſwers given to this Objection upon the ſame Principles on which it is founded. Other Motives which might induce the Miniſtry to go into this Negotiation. A View of the moſt exceptionable Circumſtances attending it. What may be offered in Vindication of the Negotiators. The Syſtem of the Treaty of* Utrecht *for the Security and Tranquillity of* Europe. *Satisfaction ſtipulated for the Houſe of* Auſtria. *Care taken of the* Dutch, *and of the reſt of the Allies. Benefits ſtipulated for* Great-Britain *in* Europe *and in* America. *It is probable that more might have been obtained; but this Probability does not in the leaſt diminiſh the Value of what was obtained. What the Earl of* Oxford *promiſed for this Treaty, accompliſhed in two remarkable Inſtances. Conſequences of later Treaties have ſhewn, that the wiſeſt Men may be miſtaken, and conſequently ought to teach them ſome Temper, in Regard to other People's Miſtakes.*

But

But though the Plan of the Treaty of Utrecht *may be defended, Irregularities in the Negotiations might be liable to Cenſure, to which, from the ſtricteſt Inquiry, they were ſeverely expoſed. After his Lordſhip's Return, and the Proclamation of the Peace, the Diſputes with the Treaſurer become public. What was the real Plan of Lord* Oxford's *Adminiſtration, and why it was diſapproved by the* October *Club. The Reaſons why his Scheme failed, and why he was ſo heartily hated by both Factions.* Arthur Manwaring, *Eſq*; *and Sir* Richard Steele, *acknowledged themſelves miſtaken, as to his Character. Steps taken to remove the Treaſurer, who protracts his Fall for ſome Time. Falls at laſt, and the whole Syſtem with him. Miſchiefs ariſing from that Faction which oppoſed him. Miſchiefs occaſioned by thoſe who ſupplanted him. The Cataſtrophe of this Struggle left the Tories at Mercy.*

AS I propoſe chiefly two Things in theſe Letters; firſt, to give you, as far as I am able, a clear and impartial View

of this great Man's political Conduct, while a Miniſter; and, ſecondly, to place in the fulleſt Light, that I can, thoſe Points that have been either obſcured or miſrepreſented by Parties; I do not think myſelf obliged to follow that exact and regular Method, which either an Hiſtorian or a Memoir-Writer would purſue, in order to merit the Attention and Approbation of the Public. Such a one would think himſelf bound to obſerve great Meaſures, in reſpect to popular Opinion, and it would be Diſcretion in him to think ſo; but I venture to take greater Freedoms, and endeavour to point out to you Truth, where, or on which Side ſoever it lies. It is for this Reaſon alſo that I confine myſelf to a few capital Tranſactions, and leave you to connect theſe with the Series of leſs ſtriking Events from the printed Hiſtories of thoſe Times, which I know you have in your Hands, and in peruſing of which it is impoſſible you ſhould not find many Things very obſcure.

THE next Point, therefore, that falls in

in my Way, conſiſtent with this Plan, is his Lordſhip's Journey to *France*. Biſhop *Burnet*, and moſt other Writers, even the Report of the Secret Committee, conſider this as an Affair of great Importance, for which it is ſaid, that he had the Queen's *ſecret* Inſtructions, and that the whole great Work of the Peace was left in his Hands. The Lord Treaſurer *Oxford* had quite another Opinion of it and him. "There "happened, ſays he, an Opportunity of "ſending him to *France*, of which there "was not much Occaſion; but it was "hoped that this would have put him into "good Humour: And ſo it did." In order to be clear in this Point, you need only conſult the Queen's Inſtructions, dated at *Windſor*, on the laſt of *July*, 1712, where you will find, that he was fully authorized to ſettle every Thing neceſſary to remove the Obſtructions to a general Suſpenſion of Arms, and alſo to concert with the Miniſters of *Lewis* XIV. the moſt proper Means for preventing ſuch Differences as could be foreſeen, and to put the Treaty of Peace into ſuch a Courſe as might bring

it to a happy and ſpeedy Concluſion. It was particularly recommended to him, to take the greateſt Care poſſible of the Affairs of the Duke of *Savoy*; to ſupport his Pretenſions to ſuch a Barrier, as that Prince himſelf ſhould think neceſſary; to provide for the contingent Settlement of his Succeſſion to the Crown of *Spain* and the *Indies*, in the Terms ſuggeſted in the Memorial of his Miniſter, the Count *Maffei*; and to be very preciſe as to the Ceſſion of the Iſland of *Sicily*. To which, however, there is added a Caution that deſerves your particular Regard. "And whereas, ſay "theſe Inſtructions, it has been ſurmiſed, "that his Royal Highneſs might think of "exchanging *Sicily* for ſome other Terri- "tories contiguous to his own, which "would by no Means be agreeable to our "Deſign, or to the Intereſts of our King- "doms; you may, therefore, conſent to an "Article to prevent the Exchange or Alie- "nation of this Kingdom from the Houſe "of *Savoy*." This plainly ſhews, that the procuring this Iſland for that Prince, was not a mere Act of Affection in the Queen towards

towards a near Relation, or a Miniſterial Artifice to attach that wiſe and brave Prince to the Queen's Party, but a great political Meaſure in which the Balance of Power, and the general Tranquillity of *Europe*, was principally conſidered, and at the ſame Time, a proper Attention had to the Commercial Intereſts of this Nation.

THE ſame Thing appears ſtill more clearly from another Point in theſe Inſtructions, in which Lord *Bolingbroke* is permitted, on the Part of the Queen, to conſent, that the Iſland of *Sardinia*, in caſe other Powers came into it, ſhould be yielded to the elector of *Bavaria*. The Queen and her Miniſters were convinced, that erecting theſe Iſlands into ſeparate Sovereignties, would be attended with many advantageous Conſequences, would make their reſpective Inhabitants infinitely more eaſy and happy, encourage Induſtry, Arts and Sciences amongſt them, promote and extend the Commerce of the *Mediterranean*, and gradually eſtabliſh Maritime Powers, whoſe Intereſt could never coin-

cide with either of the two great Houſes of *Auſtria* or *Bourbon*, and who, therefore, as they owed their Erection, muſt continually depend, for their Support and Preſervation, upon *Great-Britain* and *Holland*; and though we can only gueſs now at what effects this would have had, yet we may certainly determine, that thoſe who formed theſe Projects had the Freedom of *Europe* at Heart, and very juſt notions of the true Intereſt of their native Country. To which, as it was their native Country, they held themſelves particularly bound.

THERE is yet another Paragraph in thoſe Inſtructions, to which from the Motive laſt mentioned to you, and there cannot be one more important, it may not be amiſs if you direct your Eye. The Words are, "In "treating of the ſeveral Matters intruſted "to your Management, you are to have "eſpecial Care to avoid entangling us in "any *new* Engagements; and for that Pur-"poſe, you are to ſay and to repeat, that "we ſhall willingly enter into the *common*

"*Gua-*

" *Guaranty* for ſupporting that Settlement " of *Europe*, which ſhall be eſtabliſhed by " the general Peace, but that we will not " be tied down to any *Stipulation* which " may oblige us to *make War*, and eſpeci- " ally with our *Old Allies*, in order to pro- " cure this Settlement." The Nature of their Contents, and the Circumſtances of Things at that Time, rendered it requiſite and neceſſary that theſe Inſtructions ſhould be *ſecret*; but I perſuade myſelf, when you have peruſed them, you will not find any Thing in them unworthy of being brought into the Light.

THE Viſcount *Bolingbroke* ſigned, on the 8th of *Auguſt* following, the Convention for a Ceſſation of Hoſtilities, agreeable to theſe Inſtructions, and executed them in other Reſpects as far as lay in his Power. But as to the Stories you may have heard, ſome of which are alſo in print, that he converſed with the Perſon then ſtiled the Chevalier, that he ſat in the next Box to him at the *Opera*, and that he was indiſcreet and forward in his Applications to him, are as im-

probable as they are groundleſs; and were not publiſhed, perhaps, were not invented, till many Years afterwards. For at the Time of this Tranſaction, it was very well known, that as Prudence and Policy required, this Perſon retired from *Paris*, and was not ſeen publickly any where, to prevent untoward Accidents, or malicious Miſrepreſentations. To ſuch a degree was this Fact then notorious, that thoſe who diſliked the Viſcount's Journey to *France*, and his Buſineſs there, and were very willing to give the World an ill impreſſion of both; talked in quite another Strain, comparing this Retreat of the Chevalier with the compelling *Charles* II. to quit *Paris* upon the coming thither of *Cromwell*'s Miniſter, *Lockhart*; and yet ſaid thoſe who made this Compariſon, which I will undertake to ſhew you whenever you are inclined to ſee it, this very Mr. *Lockhart* lived afterwards to walk frequently in the *Mall*, between that King and his Brother, the Duke of *York*. Thus the higheſt Prudence may be undermined by Spleen; and, therefore, you may be ſure, had any Caution been,

at

at this Juncture, wanting, we ſhould have heard of it ſooner, and with greater Certainty.

WHILE we are upon this Subject, it will, at leaſt, ſerve to divert, if not to inform you, if I mention a very ſingular and dexterous Piece of Management in thoſe who had been lately driven out of Power, and were now labouring, with all their might, to hoiſt thoſe out of their Places, who had then, by a lucky Turn of Management, found a Way to get in. This was by coining Articles of foreign News, and publiſhing them in the public Papers as authentic Pieces of Intelligence, that were really come from the Places whence they were dated. As for Inſtance, a little before Lord *Bolingbroke*'s Journey, the following Extract of a private Letter was publiſhed in the *Flying-Poſt*, and did wonderful Execution.

Paris, July 5, 1712.

" THE Chevalier *de St. George* is
" at *Chaillot*, where he is to be re-
" tired ſome Days, and lay aſide the Title
" of *King*. 'Tis not yet ſaid what other
" Title he will take; though it is not
" doubted but it will be that of Prince of
" *Wales*, and that all this is done in Con-
" cert, becauſe it would not be convenient
" for him to go to *England* with the Title
" of King, but with that of the *preſump-*
" *tive Heir*, &c. 'Tis not known, whi-
" ther he is to go from hence at firſt, but
" only that he is to ſet out as ſoon as the
" Peace ſhall be declared,"

WHILE his Lordſhip was actually in *France*, and carrying on a Negotiation there, under the Inſtructions beforementioned, the Public had another ſhrewd Hint, conveyed through the ſame Canal, and dated from the ſame Place. I ſhall give you the Trouble of reading that too, which was thus expreſſed.

Paris,

Paris, Sept. 4, 1712.

" IF the Allies don't come to a *general* " *Peace* within four Months, a Peace " will be concluded betwixt *France* and " *Great-Britain*, excluſive of them. The " *French* flatter themſelves, that *Great-* " *Britain* will join with them to force the " *Allies* to a *Peace*, and that the ——— " is to be aſſociated with *** ***** in " the Sovereignty."

WE will not enter into the Diſcuſſion, much leſs into the Deciſion of ſo knotty a Queſtion, as whether theſe Artifices were juſtifiable or not; for I will own to you ingenuouſly, that I believe thoſe who threw out theſe alarming Paragraphs, had been provoked by things of a like Nature; for the Secretary had his Paper as well as they, and knew as well how to manage it; but if ſuch Strokes of fictitious Intelligence did the Buſineſs at the Time, and gave ſuch as had an Inclination, or Opportunity of abuſing Lord *Bolingbroke*, as covering treaſonable Practices under his Miniſterial Character,

racter, that ſurely was full enough, and it can never be reckoned fair at the Diſtance of many Years, and when ſuch a Thing is worn in a Manner out of Memory, to convert the ſatirical Strokes of a Party News Paper into Memoirs of thoſe Times, or introduce feigned Articles, becauſe they were then publiſhed, as Documents ſufficient to ſupport falſe Hiſtory. This would be putting out the *Eyes* of *Poſterity*, and proſcribing *Truth* longer than is at all neceſſary even to the Views of *Party*.

THERE is the more Reaſon to make you perfectly Maſter of theſe Facts, becauſe it was the great Endeavour of many at that Time, and the ſame Deſign from Motives that may be eaſily diſcerned, has been induſtriouſly proſecuted ever ſince, to confound the Negotiations, previous to the Treaty of *Utrecht*, with the Practices that ſome few of the Queen's Miniſtry fell into after they were proſecuted as well as diſgraced. That by blending theſe Things together, the making that Peace may be underſtood to be no more than a principal

Branch

Branch of the great Syſtem for changing the eſtabliſhed Conſtitution. If this had been really ſo, it would be juſt and right to ſet it out in theſe Colours. But if it had been ſo, Proofs could never have been wanting through ſo long a Courſe of Time. The Adminiſtration, who made the Peace, quickly broke to Pieces, and when they fell out amongſt themſelves, told all of each other that they could tell. After this, their Conduct was ſifted by one of the ſevereſt Enquiries, to which in this Country Miniſters were ever expoſed. In Conſequence of this, that Deſpair with which ſome of them were poſſeſſed, threw them actually into the Practices, with which they had been formerly charged. Yet ſo it is, that through the Courſe of this vaſt Variety of Events, there never appeared, I will not ſay, any direct or convincing, but ſo much as any probable Proofs of the Truth of that Charge at the Time it was brought. This was honourably as well as honeſtly acknowledged, at the very Time ſome of theſe Miniſters were impeached, by Men of the greateſt Probity,

amongſt

amongſt thoſe in oppoſite Sentiments. It was conſtantly affirmed by the noble Perſon of whom I am ſpeaking, in ſeveral occaſional Pieces, that he publiſhed, and no Teſtimonies were ever brought to diſprove what he alledged. Indeed the Thing itſelf with which they were charged, if coolly conſidered, is altogether incredible; they had enough to do to make the Peace; the neceſſary Negotiations for that Purpoſe were encumbered with a Multitude of troubleſome Circumſtances, and it muſt have been a Species of Madneſs in them, to dip at this Juncture into ſuch Intrigues, which at the ſame Time were utterly inconſiſtent with the Nature of the Treaty they made, and with their own Views and Intereſt in making it, if Facts are allowed to be better Arguments than Surmiſes.

THE Uſe I am to make of this Deduction is, to engage you to throw all Notions of this Sort out of the Queſtion, that you may be able without Paſſion or Prejudice, to canvaſs the Treaty of *Utrecht*, and ſee how far it was conſiſtent with the Views of the

the grand Alliance, with the real and rational Intereſts of the contracting Parties, and with the true and juſt Claims that *Great-Britain* had, to avail herſelf of that immenſe Expence of Blood and Treaſure which the War had coſt, in order to ſecure the preſent Eſtabliſhment, and her Liberties at home, and ſuch a Degree of Weight and Influence abroad as might enable her to hold the Balance in Time to come, and prevent the general Tranquillity from being diſturbed, or at leaſt, the common Security of *Europe* from ſuffering through the intemperate, and all-graſping Ambition of *any* Power whatever.

For after all that has been, after all that can be either ſaid or wrote, theſe, and theſe only, at this Time of the Day more eſpecially, are the Points worthy of wiſe Mens Conſideration. The Makers of that Treaty are moſt of them dead and gone, and ſo alſo are moſt of their Opponents. But we find the Effects of the Treaty of *Utrecht* remain, and that it has been, and muſt be the Baſis of future Treaties. It is, therefore,

fore, extremely worth While to examine it attentively, to ſee what were its real Flaws and Defects, and from whence they aroſe. What Advantages, if any, have ſprung from it, how they have been, or how they might have been improved, and whether upon the Whole, the Miſchiefs and Misfortunes that have ſince happened, have been in Reality produced from the Miſtakes in this Treaty, or whether they have not rather ariſen from throwing odious and unjuſt Colours on the Syſtem upon which it was made; and preferring a few ſpecious Phraſes and popular Opinions, taken up originally to ſerve private Purpoſes, to the ſenſible and ſolid Maxims which true Policy dictates, and by adhering to which only, the Liberties of *Europe* can be rendered ſafe, and the Subjects of theſe Kingdoms great and happy. The former Points, which are likewiſe the Means of coming at the latter, I ſhall make it my Buſineſs to explain, and without the leaſt Dread of your going wrong, leave the reſt to your own Penetration and Diligence, which can never be better employed, than in the Search

Search of ſuch Truths as regard the Intereſts of your Country. Some Studies may render you wiſer, and ſome better, but this alone can render you what I could wiſh to ſee you, that is, uſeful to this Nation; and for Want of this Study, I have ſeen great and good Men miſerably miſtaken.

BEFORE we can properly be let into the Enquiry, we have propoſed, there is a great Stumbling-Block in our Way, which muſt be removed. It is ſaid, that the very entering into a Treaty with the Crown of *France*, being contrary to the *eighth* Article of the grand Alliance, was a Breach of *public Faith*; that reſolving to treat without a previous Stipulation, that *Spain* and the *Indies* ſhould not be left to the Houſe of *Bourbon*, was contrary to a *Vote* of one of the Houſes of Parliament; and that after the great and glorious Succeſſes of the War, derived chiefly from the *Unanimity* of the *Allies*, it reflected indelible Infamy upon the *Britiſh* Nation to deſert this Alliance, and conclude a *Ceſſation* of *Arms* with

with the *common Enemy* before the Acceptation of a *general Peace*. I think I have ſtated this as fully and as clearly as it is poſſible; and in like Manner I ſhall offer to your View, what has been urged on the other Side.

THE true, genuine, and indubitable Senſe of the grand Alliance was, that the contracting Parties ſhould employ their joint and united Forces againſt *France*, for their common Benefit in reducing her exorbitant Power, and for compelling her to do Juſtice, particularly to each of theſe contracting Parties; and for the Accompliſhment of this great End, it was held requiſite and neceſſary, that none of the contracting Powers ſhould treat ſeparately or privately with *France* for her own Benefit, without the Participation of the other contracting Parties, or without Reſpect had to their Claims and Intereſts. But it did not follow from thence, that any of theſe Powers might not receive Propoſitions of Peace from *France*, if thoſe Propoſitions regarded the *whole Alliance*, and were communicated

municated to the *Allies*; for otherwiſe, it is not eaſy to conceive how any Peace was ever to be made. That this was the real Senſe of the *Article*, and ſo underſtood by the contracting Parties appeared from the Negotiation that had been managed ſome Years before by the *Dutch*, and by certain Propoſitions which before that had been made by the Duke of *Marlborough* to the Elector of *Bavaria*, neither of which had been ever conſidered as Breaches of this Article; and therefore Propoſitions made by *France* to *Great-Britain*, when communicated as they were to the *Allies*, muſt be conſidered in the ſame Light. The *Vote*, with reſpect to *Spain* and the *Indies*, could only be conſidered as the *Senſe* of *one* Houſe of Parliament at the *Time* it was paſſed, and could not operate at all upon the *grand Alliance*, which was evidently grounded upon the *contrary* Principle, and required only, that the Houſe of *Auſtria* ſhould have a *reaſonable Satisfaction* for their Claim to the *Spaniſh* Succeſſion, that the Crowns of *France* and *Spain* ſhould never be *united*, and that the *former* ſhould

be

be excluded from having any Thing to do with the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies*. It is true that the *States* of *Holland* had come to a Reſolution of the *ſame Kind*, but this could be no more binding than the other, for the ſame Reaſons. Beſides it was ſuggeſted, that the States did not come into that ſpontaneouſly, but for the Sake of obtaining the *Barrier Treaty*, which the Duke of *Marlborough*, who was one of the Plenipotentiaries, would never ſign. It was farther aſſerted, that the original Proportions for carrying on the War had been gradually changed, till at length a very *unequal Weight* was laid upon *Great-Britain*, which it was not only unreaſonable, but impoſſible that ſhe ſhould bear. This indeed was denied by the *Allies*, who alledged, that our Wealth and Power juſtified theſe Alterations, and that we were very able to go on with the War on the Foot that it then ſtood, and ſeemed to expect it as a Matter of Right. But the Houſe of Commons, who were the *proper Judges*, at leaſt for *this* Nation, thought otherwiſe, and concluded the *public Debt*, which they

conſidered

conſidered as a *Mortgage* upon the *Lands* of *England*, was already become a Weight that themſelves and their Poſterity ſhould find it difficult to diſcharge; and that if it was increaſed by carrying on the War, it would diſable us, whatever future Occaſions might require, to carry on another. Thoſe therefore who argued in this Manner, concluded, that if *Reaſon* could perſuade, if *Intereſt* could direct, or if *Neceſſity* was to be avoided, we ought to improve the *Succeſſes* of the *War* into the Means of procuring a *ſafe* and *ſpeedy* Peace; without which, whatever the *reſt* of the Allies might *gain*, there was nothing clearer or more certain than that *we* ſhould be *undone*.

Besides theſe, which were urged in Anſwer to thoſe lofty and high flown Objections, by which, when examined by the ſtrict Eye of an impartial Judge, no more will be found meant, than that this free and great Nation was to be rendered reſponſible for her Conduct to Foreigners; there were various other Motives that, without having

having Recourſe to Dreams and Suſpicions, might inſtigate the Miniſtry to enter into a Treaty. The grand Alliance was in ſome Meaſure annihilated by the great Change which had been created from the Deciſion of Providence, in diſpoſing of the Emperor *Joſeph*, which had wrought ſuch an apparent Alteration in the Intereſts of ſome of our Allies, as made it unreaſonable to expect that they ſhould concur, to pleaſe us, in Meaſures contrary to their own Intereſts, and to the Spirit of that Alliance. It was highly probable, that if the War had continued, a new Miniſterial Revolution muſt have enſued, as every Year would have increaſed the Power of the moneyed Intereſt, depreſſed that of the Land, for whoſe Support, and it was a very ſeaſonable Support, the Earl of *Oxford* procured the Law of Qualifications; without which the moneyed Men might have taxed Land, and exempted Stock to the End of the Chapter. The taking the Lead, as the Phraſe now is, was a Point of great Conſequence, and as we were allowed to contribute moſt to the War, it ſeemed to be our

our Right, more eſpecially as we had paid a Compliment to the *Dutch* before, as the *French* had declared they would never treat ſingly with that State again, and as it had been inſinuated that their Deputies had taken the Advice of the Penſionary, before they reported the Subſtance of their Conferences with the *French* Plenipotentiaries to the Miniſters of the Allies. Theſe Particulars, taken together, will enable you to form a Judgment, how far they ſpoke Truth, who aſſerted that the Queen's Miniſters had a Right to treat, and that they did well to make uſe of it.

It is indeed very certain, that the private Conferences, ſecret Correſpondencies, and great Reſerve of our Miniſters to the Allies, were Circumſtances that did not wear a very favourable Aſpect, that the Lord Viſcount *Bolingbroke*'s ſhort Journey to *France*, afforded a Colour of Suſpicion, that the Convention for a Ceſſation of Hoſtilities, and the Duke of *Ormond*'s ſeparating with the *Engliſh* Troops from the Army of the Allies were unlooked for, and

and diſagreeable Circumſtances, and that the whole Management of the pacific Conferences at *Utrecht*, till towards the very laſt, had an Air that was highly ungraceful; ſo that we need not at all wonder, more eſpecially when we take in the Bias of this Nation againſt the *French*, that Multitudes were diſpleaſed with this Negotiation in its Progreſs, and, judging entirely from Appearances, as indeed how few are there who can or will judge from any Thing elſe? looked upon the Inſtruments in making of this Peace, as Betrayers of their Country.

BUT then, give me Leave to add, Equity requires you ſhould conſider this Peace in another Light. The Foreign Miniſters in general ſet themſelves againſt treating; whatever was communicated to them in their public Capacities, though in its Nature requiring Secrecy, they cauſed to be printed immediately in the News Papers, that they might raiſe a general Outcry abroad, and excite, if poſſible, Tumults at home; which compelled the Miniſtry to act as they did, and gave the

the *French* Advantages they could never otherwiſe have had. The Memorials they preſented, the Letters they procured to the Queen, and the Remonſtrances againſt every Step that was taken, were very unuſual, and conſequently, in Perſons veſted with a public Character, unjuſtifiable. The coming over of Prince *Eugene*, and the making uſe of his great Popularity was a very ſtrong Proceeding; and in Lord *Bolingbroke*'s Letters now in your Hands, you will find ſome other aggravating Circumſtances, that may very poſſibly induce you to believe, the Miniſters, who were now under a Neceſſity of making a Peace, were alſo under a Neceſſity of making it in the Manner they did; which though I will not take upon me to ſay, was ſufficient to juſtify them, yet I may be permitted to ſuppoſe, that it ought to go a great Way in their Excuſe; more eſpecially, if upon examining the Contents of this Treaty, it ſhall be found the common Concerns of the Allies were not abandoned, the Balance of Power overthrown, or any Thing obtained in the Way of ſeparate Treaty, to which

we were not fully and fairly entitled from the Share we had taken in the War, more eſpecially in *Spain*, where though we fought purely for our Allies, we were in a great Meaſure left by them, without any other Excuſe, than that they had done all that was fit for them to do, and that we, as the moſt able and enterprizing, and who had declared the Conqueſt of that Country to be a Condition *ſine qua non* of Peace, ought to do the reſt.

WE may now come to the main Point, and enquire how far the great Ends propoſed by the War were attained by the Peace. To prevent the Union of *France* and *Spain*, under the ſame Prince, *Philip* V. renounced for himſelf and his Succeſſors, in Terms as clear, as ſtrong, and as explicit as could be deviſed, all Right of Succeſſion to the Crown of *France*, which Renunciation was ratified, and confirmed by the Cortes or Parliament of *Spain*; and at the ſame Time, to ſhew how valid Acts of this Kind are eſteemed in that Nation, they changed their own legal

legal Order of Succeſſion, preferring Heirs Male, though more remote in Blood to Heirs Female, and allowing Females to inherit, only in Caſe of the Extinction of Heirs Male. The Crown of *Spain* was alſo entailed, in Failure of the preſent Royal Family, on the Houſe of *Savoy*. In *France* again, *Philip* Duke of *Orleans* renounced for himſelf, and his Deſcendants to Perpetuity, all Right to the Crown of *Spain*; which Renunciation was confirmed by Letters Patents of *Lewis* XIV. regiſtred in all the Parliaments of *France*. Theſe Renunciations were inſerted in the Treaties of Peace, and ſortified by the general Guaranty. It is indeed true, that in the Courſe of the Negotiation, ſome of the *French* Stateſmen alledged, that no Power upon Earth could alter their Rule of Succeſſion; to which Lord *Bolingbroke*, in two Letters, gave a ſtrong and ſenſible Anſwer, intimating, that the Allies depended upon the Guaranty, which, whenever the Caſe in View became a Caſe in Fact, would at leaſt create a divided Title, ſupported by all the great Powers of *Europe* on one

Side, againſt ſuch of the *French* as ſhould adhere to this ſpeculative Right on the other. But the modern Notions, even in *France*, at this Time, are widely different, ſince a very learned *French* Writer on the *Droit Public*, has within theſe ſeven Years aſſerted the Contrary, and offered theſe Reaſons; that the Authority of the *French* Nation is in the King, and that as the Nation makes fundamental Laws, it may alter them; that in the preſent Caſe, the ſetting aſide *Philip* V. and his Poſterity, in Virtue of their Renunciation, may be conſidered as a ſimple Exception to the general Rule of Succeſſion; and that if there be any who ſcruple this abſolute Power in the *French* King, even this Scruple will be taken away by conſidering, that no Oppoſition was made to the enregiſtering this Edict in any of the Parliaments, which amounts to a tacit Conſent of the *French* Nation.

A SATISFACTION was ſtipulated for the Houſe of *Auſtria*, viz. the Poſſeſſion of the *Italian* Dominions, which it was well known, they had been to have made their Option, that

that Houſe would have choſen; and though the late Emperor ſtood out at the Treaty of *Utrecht*, yet he had the Benefit of that Stipulation, which, if we conſider the eighth Article of the grand Alliance, appears to have been the original Aim and Intention of the Confederacy. It is true, that ſome Politicians here aſſerted, that he had a Right to the whole *Spaniſh* Monarchy, and that it ought to have been obtained for him; but how far they were in earneſt in this, you will eaſily diſcern, if you recollect how much the very ſame Perſons were alarmed at the bare Probability of this coming to paſs, in caſe Don *Carlos*, the preſent King of *Sicily*, had married the preſent reigning Empreſs, and their Iſſue had become the Heirs general of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and of the *Spaniſh* Branch of *Bourbon*.

THE Security of the United Provinces was provided for by their Barrier, and their Rights, in reſpect to Commerce, as in the Times of *Charles* II. of *Spain*, of which they availed themſelves againſt the

reigning Family in *Spain*, and the Houſe of *Auſtria* in procuring the Suppreſſion of the *Oſtend* Company as contrary to Treaties, of which I put you in Mind, that you may ſee theſe Stipulations have actually operated. *Sicily* was given to the Duke of *Savoy*, who took Poſſeſſion of it, went thither, and was crowned King there. The reſt of the Allies had alſo reſpectively Satisfaction for their Pretenſions.

LET us now ſee what we had.

THE Proteſtant Succeſſion, as by Law eſtabliſhed, as well as the reigning Queen's Title, was acknowledged by *France*. The Port of *Dunkirk*, which had given us ſo much Trouble, was demoliſhed, and we have all the Security that Treaties can give us, that it ſhall ever remain ſo. It muſt be our Fault, not that of the Treaty of *Utrecht*, if this is not complied with. For the Security of our Navigation in the *Mediterranean*, we had the Fortreſs of *Gibraltar*, and the Iſland of *Minorca* yielded to us, which we have hitherto kept, and may we

we ever keep them! In *America*, we had *Hudſon*'s *Bay* reſtored, *Nova Scotia* yielded to us, with ſome other Advantages. We had alſo the Aſſiento Treaty taken from the *French* and given to us; which whatever we ſaid or thought of it, or however we managed it, was at that Time believed a Thing of ſuch Conſequence, that by ſharing it with the *Dutch*, the Miniſtry might have been eaſed of their Oppoſition. When all this is maturely conſidered, we ſhall certainly find, that the general Syſtem of Power in *Europe* was very much altered by the Treaty of *Utrecht* from what it was at the Treaty of *Ryſwick*; and the Hands of the Houſe of *Auſtria* ſo ſtrengthened, that there was a very great Probability, and more than this can never be expected from Treaties, that the public Tranquillity might have ſubſiſted long, and a proper Balance been preſerved.

BUT it has been ſaid, and very probably with Truth, that if it had not been for the unhappy Miſunderſtanding amongſt the Allies, much more might have been obtained; but

what, has not been ſpecified, except with regard to us; for it was made one of the Articles of Impeachment againſt the Earl of *Oxford*, that *Cape-Breton* was not yielded to us as a Part of *Nova Scotia*. There is great Reaſon to believe, that this would have been inſiſted upon, if the Miniſters who made the Peace had not been ſo much diſtreſſed at home; which ſhews how much the Intereſts of this poor Nation ſuffer by the Appetite of private Men for Power, and by the inveterate Struggles of Factions. But admitting, and indeed Lord *Bolingbroke* admits it, that more might have been had: It does not follow that nothing was obtained, or that becauſe we did not get all we could wiſh, we ſhould not ſet a juſt Value upon what we really did get, and remains ſtill in our Hands.

UPON the Concluſion of this Treaty, the Earl of *Oxford* ſaid, *That it would execute itſelf*, and *that whenever a new War broke out, it would be in* Italy. He was right in both, for ſince that Time, we have twice ſeen the *Spaniſh* Branch of the Houſe

Houſe of *Bourbon* acting in direct Oppoſition to *France*; once in an open War, and once by a ſolemn Treaty. We are at this Hour flattered with the Hopes of ſeeing ſomething of the ſame Kind a third Time. As to the War in *Italy*, and the Exchange of *Sicily* for *Sardinia*, theſe were the Effects of the Quadruple Alliance, not made by the Miniſters who negotiated the Treaty of *Utrecht*, but by ſome of the Miniſters who cauſed them to be impeached, and who entered into that Alliance, in order to amend, and to ſet right the Miſtakes made by that Treaty ſo heavily and loudly decried.

But the wiſeſt and the beſt Men may be miſtaken! ſince from this correcting and amending Alliance, almoſt all the Diſputes have ariſen that have perplexed and diſturbed *Europe* ever ſince. It was in Conſequence of that Alliance, that the *Spaniſh* Branch of the Houſe of *Bourbon* had an Entrance given them into *Italy*; that a certain Promiſe was made with reſpect to *Gibraltar*; that the preſent King of *Sardinia*

was thrown into the Arms of the Houſe of *Bourbon*, which produced the great Change in the Syſtem of *Italy*, by the Loſs of *Naples* and *Sicily*; and many other Events, which it would be tedious and needleſs to recapitulate. One Thing only I will obſerve, that if all the Treaties which have been made ſince, were to be expoſed to as ſevere an Enquiry as that which the Treaty of *Utrecht* met with, the Miniſters that made them might have found a great deal of Difficulty in defending themſelves. On this Subject enough has been ſaid, at leaſt, in Conjunction with what you will find in the latter Part of this noble Perſon's Letters, written with that Penetration and Judgment, that Vivacity and Eloquence, which were natural and peculiar to him, and which enabled him to ſet any Thing he choſe to ſet, in ſo clear a Light, that all Endeavours to perplex and obſcure it again were fruitleſs.

WHAT I have been ſaying, you muſt underſtand entirely of the Plan or Syſtem of Politicks, with reſpect to Foreign Affairs, adopted

adopted by thoſe who thought it Time to make a general Peace, after a War that had continued ſo many Years, and which had coſt I will not ſay how many Millions. But with reſpect to the Steps taken in the Management of the Negotiations that produced it, I have already given you a Hint, where the beſt Vindication of them may be found; for that in the Situation this Miniſtry was in, there might be many Things done irregularly is far from being improbable; and what was their great Misfortune, Thoſe who, by a potent Oppoſition, managed with equal Spirit and Skill, drove them into theſe Irregularities, came afterwards into Power, and with great Strictneſs and Severity enquired into, diſcovered, and ſet in the ſtrongeſt Light, every Slip that had happened in a long Courſe of arduous and delicate Tranſactions, incumbered throughout with the greateſt Difficulties, both abroad and at home. To this there was added another, and ſtill a greater Misfortune, which was the national Prejudice againſt ſuch as were branded with the odious Appellation of Friends to the *French* Intereſt,

Intereſt, a Circumſtance that ſome of themſelves afterwards experienced with a great Degree of Injuſtice; for though it is by no Means eaſy, and, perhaps, would not be prudent to remove this Prejudice from the Hearts of the People, yet Miniſters ſhould be entirely free from it, and take their Meaſures, with reſpect to Foreign Affairs, not from popular Affections, but from the true Intereſts of this Nation, which in the Nature of Things muſt frequently vary, and the Conduct of wiſe and able Miniſters with it. Let us now return from Reflection to Hiſtory, and purſue, though very ſuccinctly, the Steps of his Lordſhip's Conduct, while he continued a Miniſter.

IN a few Weeks after his Return from *France*, her Majeſty was pleaſed to beſtow the vacant Ribbons of the Order of the Garter upon the Dukes of *Hamilton*, *Beaufort* and *Kent*; and the Earls *Paulet*, *Oxford* and *Strafford*, with which it is ſaid, the Lord Viſcount *Bolingbroke* was far from being pleaſed, as having himſelf an Ambition

tion to receive, as well as to deſerve ſuch an Inſtance as this was of his Miſtreſs's Grace and Favour. In a ſhort Time after, the firſt of thoſe noble Perſons, who had been appointed her Majeſty's Embaſſador Extraordinary to the Court of *France*, fell a Victim to the rage of Party in *Hyde-Park*. His Lordſhip, it is thought, would not have been diſpleaſed, if he had been charged with that Embaſſy; but the Duke of *Shrewſbury* was choſen, and went accordingly. The Authority is ſo great, upon the Credit of which theſe Facts are mentioned, that one can ſcarce call the Truth of them in Queſtion, However, if he had really either, or both theſe Preferments in View, he had in Proceſs of Time great Reaſon to be reconciled to Fortune, for defeating his Inclinations, more eſpecially as the Queen gave him about this Time a very conſiderable Teſtimony of her Eſteem, in making him Lord Lieutenant of the County of *Eſſex*, in the Room of the Earl of *Rivers*. The Duke of *Shrewſbury* diſcharged the laſt mentioned Truſt with great Honour. The Peace was concluded in *April*,

April, 1713, and immediately after the Parliament met, in which, though Things were tolerably well managed, yet diſcerning People could not help perceiving, that the great Men had been rather too haſty in quitting the Houſe of Commons, and were much more to blame for diſagreeing amongſt themſelves. A Piece of ill Conduct which began early, and ended fatally. I will ſpeak of it as I do of every Thing, freely, and according to the beſt Information I have received. You may very poſſibly meet with Perſons better acquainted with theſe Tranſactions than I, and if they impart to you their Knowledge with the ſame Candour, you cannot fail of receiving conſiderable Benefit from contemplating that Change this Difference brought on in the Queen's Adminiſtration, and which though but of four Days Continuance, ended with her Life.

IT has been already ſaid, that theſe Diſputes commenced early; it may be upon Mr. *Harley*'s being raiſed to the Peerage, and declared High-Treaſurer; at leaſt, this

was

was what that noble Perſon ſuſpected, and was what induced him to put the famous Dr. *Swift* upon writing that conciliating Piece of political Caſuiſtry, entitled, *A Letter to the* October *Club*. It ſeems, that while Mr. *St. John* directed Things in the Houſe of Commons with great Spirit and Ability, an Opinion was conceived that the Miniſter, that is, the Lord-Treaſurer, did not proceed ſo vigorouſly as he might have done, and as many of the Gentlemen that compoſed the Club, thought they had Reaſon to expect. You may ſee by that Letter how little Miniſters are to be envied, and what Troubles and Anxieties neceſſarily attend on thoſe who become the Leaders of Parties, who are often ſullen or refractory while aſpiring to Superiority, and almoſt always impatient, mutinous and turbulent when that Superiority is attained. It is a natural Thing for Men to over-rate their own Merits in all Situations; but in the Diſputes of Party this has been, and ever will be conſpicuous in the higheſt Degree. Thoſe who complained of the Treaſurer's Slowneſs and Want of Spirit, expected a total

total Revolution, that all who were, or were ſuppoſed to be *Whigs*, ſhould be turned out of Employments, and replaced by *Tories*, or thoſe who would call themſelves ſo, and act as ſuch. The Treaſurer thought this impracticable in ſome Reſpects, and very imprudent in others; he was for doing the Queen's Buſineſs as ſmoothly as he could, and making an Inclination to do that, the Recommendation to Power, rather than the ſpeaking the Language or wearing the Cognizance of any Party. This not a few who lived in thoſe Times will deny; but this I have many and ſtrong Reaſons to believe was the Truth, and no Motive in the World to tell you ſo, except that of believing it firmly.

THE Scheme of the Treaſurer was indeed very difficult to execute, and expoſed him alike to the violent Men of both Parties, without attaching to him, at leaſt cloſely, any great Number of Friends. This will be always the Caſe in Countries where Parties have long raged with Violence; for

for a Miniſter muſt not only be Maſter of great Prudence and Addreſs, but muſt be alſo what no Miniſter has it in his Power to be, very fortunate, who ſhould bring ſuch a Scheme to bear, that is, who ſhall be able to ſelect the wiſe and moderate Men of both Parties, engage them to abandon their reſpective Notions of that Kind, and by uniting in the public Service, acquire a Weight and Influence ſufficient to render ineffectual the Intrigues, and to repel the moſt violent Attacks of Faction. The Lord High-Treaſurer *Oxford* had a Capacity as equal to ſuch a Taſk as moſt Miniſters we ever had, and if he had riſen to that Height of Power ſomewhat earlier in his Life, might in all Probability have accompliſhed his Deſign, and have eſtabliſhed the State on a firm Foundation, and thereby ſecured his own Character. But as it was, he incurred the Hatred of both Parties; the *Whigs* were his implacable Enemies for what he had done, and ſome *others* became as inveterate for what he would not ſuffer them to do. The Situation he was in obliged him to be perpetually upon

upon the Reſerve, and this gave a Colour to repreſent him as a Man dark, perplexed and unintelligible. His Fertility in Expedients ſupported him long, and made even thoſe who did not love him, conclude his Continuance in his Station abſolutely neceſſary. It gave them, however, a Handle for repreſenting him as a Man of Art, and thus his Intereſt was continually ſinking, even while he conducted all Things in Appearance. But that he was miſunderſtood, both by Foes and Friends, appears, at leaſt in my Judgment very clearly from this, that while in the Height of Power he was never charged with Violence, and when his Conduct was expoſed to the ſtricteſt Scrutiny, and himſelf to the ſevereſt Proſecution, there was no Diſcovery of Corruption. Give me Leave to add, that his two warmeſt Opponents, *Arthur Maywaring*, Eſq; and Sir *Richard Steele*, were both overcome by his Moderation. The former ſettled with him, the Duke of *Marlborough*'s Paſs for going abroad, which was accompanied with a Letter from the Queen, expreſſing that whatever Teſtimonies

monies of Eſteem were paid him where-ever he came, would be very acceptable to her. As for Sir *Richard Steele*, as his Hoſtilities were committed through the Preſs, he thought it juſt to make his Atonement the ſame Way, and he did this when the Earl was out of Power, and when Sir *Richard* could have no other Motive, but the Love of Truth and Juſtice, But for the Reaſons I have given, you will very eaſily diſcern, whatever his Merit was, whatever his Intentions might be, it is rather wonderful he ſuſtained himſelf ſo long, than that he ſunk at laſt. In a Nation agitated by Factions, he who will not be of a Faction muſt be cruſhed between them.

THERE was a Scheme formed for his Excluſion at the Cloſe of the ſecond Seſſion of Parliament after he came into Power; but upon ſome Trials that were made, it was found that the Queen could not be brought into it; ſhe had ſeen many of his Undertakings ſucceed, which ſeveral of her Servants had treated as chimerical and impracticable;

impracticable; and ſhe had ſeen ſome of their Project fail notwithſtanding they were very plauſible in their Appearance; ſhe was naturally afraid of Storms, and ſhe was very deſirous of ending her Life in Quiet, if it was poſſible. But by Degrees, and by the Loſs, as it is generally ſaid, of the Favour of the Ladies, who were about her, the Treaſurer began to decline in her Favour. There were at this Time three enterprizing Miniſters, of whom the Lord Viſcount *Bolingbroke* was one, who believed it practicable, by a thorough modelling of Places, to have eſtabliſhed ſuch an extenſive Influence as muſt have ſupported them at all Events, made the Remainder of the Queen's Reign perfectly eaſy, and have made it clearly the Intereſt of the Succeſſor, upon her Demiſe, to careſs and employ them. This, if you will examine their Conduct ſtrictly; compare it with the Writings of thoſe who were moſt in their Confidence, and one of the Pieces of this noble Perſon in the laſt Collection, publiſhed before his Death, will appear to be the Truth. In order to the Execution of this Plan, the Removal

Removal of the Treaſurer was not only expedient but neceſſary; though it was not without great Difficulty that it was effected. The Earl of *Oxford* knew the Value of the White-Staff, and was not to be perſuaded or frighted out of it; for his greateſt Enemies have allowed that he had a Firmneſs of Mind in all Situations, which is hardly ever to be found in a bad Man. At length on the 27th of *July*, 1714, the Staff was taken, or rather torn from him, and the Circumſtances attending this Cabinet Convulſion, are generally ſaid to have coſt the Queen her Life. She was ſeized ſoon after with that violent Diſtemper of which ſhe died, and in a ſhort Interval of Senſe, at the Recommendation of the Privy-Council, delivered that Mark of the Treaſurer's Office to the Duke of *Shrewſbury*, who was Lord Chamberlain, and Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland* before. This was the Iſſue of that Conteſt, in which thoſe who had laboured the Diſgrace of the Treaſurer obtained a compleat Victory, and met with a total Defeat almoſt in the ſame Breath.

THOUGH

THOUGH I am very ſenſible of the Length of this Letter, yet I cannot prevail upon myſelf to cloſe it without making ſome Reflections. There never was a Juncture, within the Memory of any who are now living, when the Rage of Parties ran higher than at this Time of which we are ſpeaking, and, conſequently, there never was a Time when the public Intereſt ſuffered more from the Spirit of Party. Thoſe who ſtiled themſelves Patriots, and many of them certainly were ſo, ſuffered themſelves to be drawn into a Notion, that becauſe the Allies had fallen out with the Miniſtry, they could never attach themſelves too zealouſly to their Demands, by which they increaſed an ill Humour, that would have run high enough without their Aſſiſtance, gave Advantages to *France*, which otherwiſe ſhe could never have had, and put ſome of the Allies upon refuſing what could not afterwards be obtained. By the finding Fault with every Thing in the Peace and ſtarting Objections and Cavils, even to the Advantages of it, they diſcouraged and diſtreſſed the Miniſtry to a

Degree

Degree that was prejudicial to the Nation. By their heightening popular Diſcontents, and by ſuggeſting Colluſion with the *French* in every Thing, the threw they Adminiſtration, and particularly thoſe who had more immediately engaged in managing the Treaty, into the Arms of *France*, who, as it plainly appears, availed herſelf of their Difficulties, and of this violent Oppoſition; ſo that their Hatred of *France* operated more in her Favour, than the Deſire of Peace, in thoſe who for that Reaſon, were moſt invidiouſly ſtiled her Friends. By imputing dangerous and unconſtitutional Deſigns (when as far as has hitherto appeared, there were no ſuch Deſigns) they took the readieſt Method to dictate them, and by a ſtrange and unparalleled Strain of Policy expreſſed their Zeal for the Succeſſion of the illuſtrious Houſe of *Hanover*, by driving thoſe, who alone could attempt to hinder it, into Deſpair; and, laſtly, which they afterwards found to their Coſt, they eſtabliſhed ſuch ſtrange Doctrines in Politicks, with reſpect to the Obligation of *Great-Britain* always to eſpouſe certain Intereſts upon the Continent,

Continent, as brought a Neceſſity upon themſelves of taking Meaſures when they came into Power, that they afterwards repented, and furniſhed the Means of retorting this Odium upon them when they diſcovered their Repentance, and owned a Concurrence with *France*, when for any Thing that appeared, *France* had no bad Deſigns. Such were the Effects of Party Spirit on this Side!

THEY were not at all leſs conſpicuous, they were not at all leſs miſchievous on the other. The ſmooth Language, which a due Senſe of their own deep Diſtreſs, had, in the Beginning, taught the *French* Miniſters, heightened by the rough Treatment they had received from thoſe of the *Allies*, deceived ſome of *our own*. Candour, Generoſity, Good-nature hindered them from *dictating* when they might; and this Imprudence, for ſuch it really was, put them afterwards under Difficulties, out of which they extricated themſelves with Pain, and by a moſt unaccountable Fatality, left

left the Monuments of this Pain and thoſe Difficulties to appear. They choſe, when they found themſelves in this Dilemma, to derive Aſſiſtance from their old Enemies, which, it may be, a little Condeſcenſion would have purchaſed from their old Friends. At home they depended too much upon the Influence of that Power they had ſo lately acquired, and that popular Applauſe they had taken ſo much Pains to obtain. But they had never conſidered how ſuddenly they might be ſtripped of the *one*, and how *little* the *other* would avail them when *that* was gone. But the greateſt of their political Errors, was their giving Encouragement to a Party they never meant to ſerve; whoſe Aſſiſtance did them very little Good, and by receiving which Aſſiſtance, they fortified the Suggeſtions of their Opponents, and did more towards their own Deſtruction, than all the Skill and Addreſs of their Enemies, and they wanted neither, could ever have done. Such were their Er[illegible], and ſuch the Fruits of that Spirit of [illegible]ty which they encouraged! Between both, Nation was for ſome Years kept in a

continual Flame, and while cant Expreſſions, and vain Pretences miſled Multitudes on both Sides, there were very few who underſtood, or conſequently were in a Condition to mean, or to purſue the publick Good; and this at a Seaſon (which was another great Misfortune to the Nation) when at home and abroad, it might have been purſued to the greateſt Advantage.

IT is the Strength and Security of Men, who act upon ſound and national Principles, that whenever they are fortunate enough to gain the Aſcendant, they are in very little Danger of loſing it. Whereas it is quite otherwiſe with Factions, even under the ableſt Leaders; for when once they graſp that Power, for which they eternally ſtruggle, unleſs they can totally cruſh their Opponents, it is impoſſible they ſhould keep it long. There were *two* Miniſters in thoſe Days, I had like to have deſcribed them more plainly, but it is as well omitted, who were in Hopes of ſerving their Country, by ſelecting Men of Parts and Probity, and ſharing the Adminiſtration amongſt them, without regard-

regarding Factions. They were both very near ſucceeding, but neither of them did ſucceed. They were both, in Spite of all they could do, carried away by the Stream of predominant Factions; but with this Difference, that the one fell with, and the other by it. If either of them could have ſtemmed the Tide even for a little Time, they would have done all they propoſed. But as ſoon as they loſt their Poſts, and their Influence, all was to be begun again.

WHEN the Lord Viſcount *Bolingbroke* and his Friends undertook to eſtabliſh the *Tory Syſtem*, and ſtaked their own Power and Safety upon that Attempt, they certainly had much in their Hands, and a great Influence on the Bulk of the *Britiſh* Nation. But they had not ſufficiently conſidered the Queen's ill State of Health, or the little Probability there was, that after the laſt new Revolution in the Miniſtry, they ſhould be able (which it is ſaid they endeavoured) to cloſe with the *Whigs*. Theſe, when in Power, and when out of Power, had conducted themſelves with great Spirit and Unanimity, and though

in wounding their Enemies, they had ſometimes conſidered the Intereſt of the Nation but little, yet it muſt be allowed they were never wanting to themſelves. They purſued in that Reſpect a right Plan both at home and abroad, and they reaped the Fruits of it. They looked upon themſelves as ſure of coming into Power again, if they kept in a Body, and they very wiſely remained firm to that ſalutary and ſenſible Reſolution. It is however true, that they were in ſome Danger from the Lord Treaſurer *Oxford*'s Plan; but when it once appeared that he was inſecure, and conſequently in no Condition to execute it, they were immediately out of Danger, and out of all Apprehenſions. Thoſe who had left them made haſte to return. Thoſe who were about to leave them, reſumed with recruited Vigour their old Conduct. The Leaders of the *Whigs* ſaw the Breach in the Adminiſtration, and ſaw it with the utmoſt Satisfaction. They knew they ſhould receive Applications from both Sides, which they received coldly, and with an Air of Diſdain, as being reſolved to give Quarter to neither. This Scene was

of

of a very ſhort Continuance, but they made their Advantage of it, ſhort as it was. They acted with Spirit and Dignity, and made their Conqueſt ſure and compleat, by putting themſelves in a Poſture to relieve all the Poſts while they were yet full, and by this bold Aſſertion of their Right to Power, actually came into Poſſeſſion of it, before thoſe who fancied they could conteſt it with them were recovered from their Conſternation. They did recover themſelves a little, as, if I have Leiſure, I ſhall ſhew you; but it was too late. The feeble Meaſures they had taken to reconcile themſelves to the Succeſſor, upon a Suppoſition, that when they had once eſtabliſhed their Power, he muſt be obliged to court them, had no Effect, and that Stand which they fancied they could make, proved but a Fancy. Here, as I believe you will think it high Time, I ſhall conclude this very long Letter, with a hearty Wiſh, that you may ſee no ſuch Times, be expoſed to no ſuch Trials, when by an artful Uſe of the Words, *Steadineſs* and *Honour*, Gentlemen were engaged to

go all the Lengths of Party, to gratify the Avidity and Ambition of their Leaders, without conſidering what national Intereſts ſuffered, or what national Expences were incurred!

LET-

LETTER IX.

Mors terribilis eſt iis quorum cum Vita omnia extinguuntur, non iis quorum Laus emori non poteſt.

This Letter compoſed rather of Facts than Reflections. The Proclamation of King George I. *ſettled as ſoon as poſſible upon the Queen's Deceaſe, and ſubſcribed by the Viſcount* Bolingbroke, *and the reſt of her late Majeſty's Miniſters. His Lordſhip is ſeverely mortified by the Regency, before Orders were received from* Hanover *for removing him from his Office. His Behaviour in the ſhort Seſſion after the Queen's Death. In the firſt Parliament of King* George *oppoſes in the Houſe of Peers, an Addreſs which cenſured the Queen's Miniſtry and the Peace. Oppoſed alſo by the Duke of* Shrewſbury, *Earl of* Strafford, *and other Peers; but the Addreſs after all carried by a Majority of two to one. Lord* Bolingbroke *beginning thereupon to doubt the Safety of his*

Perſon, judged it more prudent to withdraw out of the Kingdom. A Letter publiſhed ſoon after, as if written by him to another noble Peer, containing the Reaſons of his taking that Step. Some Remarks as to the Propriety of his Lordſhip's Conduct. Commencement and Proceedings of the Committee of Secrecy. Debate upon the bringing up Articles of Impeachment againſt the Earl of Oxford, *and Demand that he ſhould be immediately ſequeſtred from Parliament. His Lordſhip's admirable Speech for himſelf upon this Occaſion. Committed to the Uſher of the Black-Rod the ſame Night, and ſoon after to the* Tower. *The Lord Viſcount* Bolingbroke *and the Duke of* Ormond *attainted. No Mention made of any treaſonable Correſpondence, other than in negotiating the Peace, in theſe Acts of Attainder. At what Time, and a Conjecture by whoſe Intereſt, the former of theſe Peers was pardoned, and promiſed Marks of the King's Favour. An Attempt to fix this Period with Certainty from his own Writings. His Senſe of this Royal Favour, and his Situation when he received it. An Application*

to

to Parliament, in order to his enjoying the Benefits intended him by the King's Pardon. This Indulgence vehemently oppoſed in the Houſe of Commons, and followed by Proteſts in the Houſe of Lords. He once more takes up his Pen in Politicks, and his Apology for it. How reliſhed by ſome, and in what Light conſidered by others. His great Abilities as an Author generally acknowledged, and ſucceſsfully employed. His Rank and high Employments, ſtrong Prejudices in his Favour as a Writer. Applies Hiſtory in general, and Engliſh *Hiſtory more eſpecially with great Dexterity. His Writings to be read with much Attention, and no leſs Caution. Adopts, in order to ſtrengthen his Friends in Oppoſition, the Doctrine of the Earl of* Oxford, *under the Notion of a Coalition of Parties. Varies his Views with the varying Circumſtances of the Times, and fixes on a Right to Fame after Death. His Character drawn by a noble Pen. Time of his Death, and ſome Particulars relating to it. A few practical Remarks on the winding up theſe Letters for*

the Uſe of the Perſon to whom they are addreſſed.

IN ſome of my former, I am afraid that I have been a little troubleſome to you by the Length of my Reflections, but at preſent I ſhall make you ſome Amends; for though it may be that this Letter will be as long as even my laſt, yet ſhall it conſiſt chiefly of Facts, with reſpect to which I ſhall leave you to your own Reflections; and if we ſhall live to converſe hereafter, as I hope we ſhall, upon theſe Topicks, upon imparting your Sentiments, I ſhall make no Scruple of giving you mine.

THE *dernier Fait* of the Lord Viſcount *Bolingbroke*'s Miniſtry, during the Life of his Royal Miſtreſs, was informing her Majeſty in Conjunction with MR. *Bromley*, and the Earl of *Mar*, the other two Secretaries of State, that the Privy-Council humbly recommended to her, the Duke of *Shrewſbury* for the Poſt of Lord High Treaſurer. The Queen anſwered, *They could not recommend a Perſon ſhe liked better, than the Duke*

of

of Shrewſbury; adding, when the White-Staff was put into his Hands, *Uſe it for the Good of my People*, which was the laſt Act of her Reign. This was on the 30th of *July*, and her Majeſty continuing lethargic that Night, and the next Day, the Privy-Council wrote a Letter ſuitable to the Occaſion, to the Elector of *Brunſwick*, and directed the neceſſary Preparations for proclaiming him King. Her Majeſty expiring on the 1ſt of *Auguſt*, 1714, a little after Seven in the Morning, the Regency was ſoon after declared, and according to the uſual Cuſtom, the Proclamation of the Succeſſor was ſigned by all the Perſons of Diſtinction then at Court, by the late Queen's Miniſters particularly, and by the Lord Viſcount *Bolingbroke* amongſt the reſt.

On the 1ſt of *Auguſt* the Queen died, and on the 31ſt of the ſame Month, the Lord Viſcount *Bolingbroke* was removed from his Office of Secretary of State, and all the Papers in his ſaid Office ſecured. But before this, he had received, perhaps, a higher Mortification; for upon the third of the ſame Month,

Month, the Regency having made Choice of *Joſeph Addiſon*, Eſq; for their Secretary, they at the ſame Time gave Directions to the Poſt-Maſter-General, to ſend all Letters and Packets directed to the Secretaries of State, to the Secretary of the Regency. So that his Lordſhip was in Fact removed from his high Office, that is, from the Execution of it in two Days after the Queen's Death. This muſt have obliged his Lordſhip to make many ſerious Reflections, the Chagrin of which was continually heightened by the daily Humiliation of waiting at the Door of the Apartment where the Regency ſat, with a Bag in his Hand, and being all this Time, as it were on Purpoſe, expoſed to the Inſolence of thoſe who were tempted by their own Intemperance of Mind, or thought they might make their Court to others, by an Abuſe of this ſudden Turn of Fortune. It was, therefore, a Kind of Relief, when upon the Return of Mr. *Murray*, who brought the Diſpatch in Anſwer to that ſent by Mr. *Craggs* (who carried the Privy-Council's Letters) to the King, he was diſmiſſed from his Office,

Office, the Seals being demanded by the Dukes of *Shrewſbury* and *Somerſet*; or at leaſt it would have appeared in this Light, if it had not been for the locking up the Doors of his Office, and putting Seals upon them, which might, and very probably did ſuggeſt to him what afterwards happened; and all Things conſidered, it is not improbable, that even this was likewiſe intended; for ſome who knew his Lordſhip's great Capacity were at this critical Juncture willing to diſconcert and depreſs his Spirits, if they could.

He was, however, far from diſcovering any Signs of Apprehenſion at this Time; but on the Contrary, took frequent Occaſions to declare he was able to vindicate his own Conduct, and applied himſelf with much Induſtry and Vigour to keep up the Spirit of the Friends to the late Adminiſtration, during that ſhort Seſſion of Parliament which followed the Queen's Death, in which nothing of Moment was done, except ſettling the Civil Liſt, and ſome other Points that were abſolutely neceſſary. Soon after that Seſſion was determined, the Parliament was diſſolved

and

and a Proclamation iſſued for calling another, before the Meeting of which the new Miniſtry was ſettled; the Lord Viſcount *Townſhend*, *James Stanhope*, Eſq; and the Duke of *Montroſe*, made Secretaries of State, in the Room of the Lord Viſcount *Bolingbroke*, Mr. *Bromley*, and the Earl of *Mar*.

THE new Parliament met on the 17th of *March*, when the Commons elected *Spencer Compton*, Eſq; their Speaker. On the 21ſt the King came to the Houſe, and delivered his Speech to the Lord Chancellor *Cowper*, by whom it was read to both Houſes. The next Day the Committee appointed by the Houſe of Lords to draw up an Addreſs, reported it as uſual. After reading it, a warm Debate aroſe, chiefly in regard to the following Expreſſions, *And* Recover *the Reputation of this Kingdom in foreign Parts, the Loſs of which we hope to convince the World by our Actions, is by no Means to be imputed to the Nation in general.* The Lord *Trevor*, the Lord Viſcount *Bolingbroke*, the Earl of *Strafford*, the Dukes of *Buckingham* and *Shrewſbury*,

bury, the Earl of *Angleſey*, the Archbiſhop of *York*, the Biſhops of *London* and *Briſtol*, and ſome other Peers excepted againſt that Clauſe, alledging among other Things, " That it " was injurious to the late Queen's Memo- " ry, and even inconſiſtent with that Part " of his Majeſty's Speech, which recom- " mended to both Houſes, the avoiding the " unhappy Diviſions of Parties." The Lord *Bolingbroke* in particular made a long Speech, wherein he expreſſed, " The hear- " tieſt and deepeſt Concern for the Memo- " ry of the late Queen, his moſt excellent " Miſtreſs, which he ſaid he would do all in " his Power to vindicate. That he had the " Honour to be one of her Servants, and if " he had done any Thing amiſs, he would " be contented to be puniſhed for it; but " that he thought it very hard to be cenſur- " ed and condemned without being heard." His Lordſhip took this Occaſion to ſay a great deal in Praiſe of the King. " That his " Majeſty had ſeveral Times expreſſed a " great Reſpect and Tenderneſs for the late " Queen's Memory, and was a Prince of ſo " great Wiſdom, Equity and Juſtice, that

" he

" he was ſure his Majeſty would not con-
" demn any Man without hearing what he
" had to ſay for himſelf; and that ſo auguſt
" an Aſſembly ought to imitate ſo great a
" Pattern." In fine, it was upon theſe and other Reaſons his Lordſhip moved, that the Words *Recover*, &c. might be ſoftened into thoſe of *maintain the Reputation of this Kingdom*, and that the reſt of the Paragraph might be omitted.

THE Earl of *Strafford* alſo excepted againſt that Clauſe, amongſt other Arguments, " Be-
" cauſe it would expoſe the Honour of the
" Nation abroad, which he aſſerted he was
" ſure had ſuffered no Diminution during
" his Negotiations." The Duke of *Shrewſbury* ſaid in particular, " That the Houſe of
" Peers ought on all Occaſions to be moſt
" tender of the Honour and Dignity of the
" Crown, from which they derive their own
" Honour and Luſtre: That, therefore,
" when the like Clauſe was inſerted in an
" Addreſs of the Houſe of Commons to the
" late Queen, upon the Death of King *Wil-*
" *liam*, he had expreſſed to ſeveral Members

" of

" of that Houſe his Diſlike of it, becauſe " it reflected on the Memory of that Prince; " and for the ſame Reaſon, he was againſt " the ſame Sort of Clauſe now." Theſe and other Arguments urged on that Side, were anſwered by the Marquiſs of *Wharton*, the Lord Chancellor, the Earl of *Nottingham*, and the Earl of *Ailesford*, the Duke of *Devonſhire*, and ſome other Peers, who expreſſed all the Reſpect and Reverence for the late Queen's Memory imaginable, diſtinguiſhed between her and her Miniſtry, and maintained the Clauſe in Queſtion, by Arguments drawn from the Miſmanagements of the latter, hinted at in his Majeſty's Speech. The Lord Chancellor in particular taking Notice of the Objections raiſed by the Lord *Bolingbroke*, among other Things ſaid, " They did " not condemn any particular Perſon, but " only the Peace in general, becauſe they felt " the ill Conſequences of it; that they who " adviſed, and made ſuch a Peace, deſerved indeed to be cenſured, but that the " Words in the Addreſs being general, no " private Perſon was affected by them; and that the Alteration of the Word *Recover* into

" into that of *Maintain*, would ſignify no
" more towards the Juſtification of the Guil-
" ty, than the Word *Recover* towards the
" Condemnation of the Innocent." Upon the whole Matter, the Queſtion being put, whether the Addreſs ſhould be recommitted or not, it was carried in the Negative, by a Majority of ſixty-ſix againſt thirty-three.

IT may be reaſonably ſuppoſed, that the Lord Viſcount *Bolingbroke* collected from the Nature and Iſſue of this Debate, that a Reſolution was even at this Time taken to carry Things to Extremities, and that in ſuch a Caſe, he might be more particularly in Danger. Various Reports there were upon this Subject, and amongſt the reſt, two, either of which had an Air of Probability: one was, that a certain noble Perſon, who did not altogether approve violent Proceedings at the Opening of a new Reign, but was deſirous rather that milder Meaſures might be purſued, as moſt likely to quiet the Minds of all his Majeſty's Subjects, produce a gradual Extinction of Parties, and conciliate the Affections of the People in general

neral to the Royal Family; found his Councils over-ruled, and having intimated this to ſome of his Friends, it came to Lord *Bolingbroke*'s Ear. The other was, that a very great Man, to whom his Lordſhip had been formerly dear, and to whom he had been for ſome time reconciled, hinted to him, that of all the Queen's Miniſters, he was like to meet with *the leaſt Favour*. But whether both, or either, or neither of theſe Stories were true, ſo it was, that his Lordſhip thought fit to withdraw in a few Days, and going Poſt to *Dover*, embarked there for *Calais*, where he landed ſafely the next Day.

Soon after his Lordſhip's Departure, the following Letter, ſaid to have been written to the late Lord *Lanſdown*, was printed and handed about. As it is very conſiſtent with his Lordſhip's Conduct and Sentiments, it is probably genuine, at leaſt, it was not diſowned then, or denied ſince.

Dover,

Dover, March 27, 1715.

'MY LORD,

'I Left the *Town* ſo abruptly that I had no Time to take Leave of you, or any of my Friends: You will excuſe me when you know that I had certain and repeated *Informations* from ſome who are in the *Secret* of *Affairs*, That a Reſolution was taken by thoſe who have *Power* to *execute*, to purſue me *to the Scaffold*. My *Blood* was to have been the Cement of a *new Alliance*, nor could my *Innocence* be any Security after it had been once demanded from *abroad*, and reſolved on *at home*, that it was neceſſary to *cut me off*. Had there been the leaſt Reaſon to hope for a *fair* and *open Trial*, after having been already prejudged unheard, by *two Houſes* of *Parliament*, I ſhould not have declined the ſtricteſt Examination. I challenge the moſt inveterate of my Enemies, to produce any *one* Inſtance of *criminal Correſpondence*, or the leaſt *Corruption* in any Part of the *Adminiſtration* in which I was concerned. If my *Zeal* for the *Honour* and *Dignity* of my *Ro*

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al Miſtreſs, and the *true Intereſt* of my *Country* has any where tranſported me to let ſlip a *warm* or *unguarded Expreſſion*, I hope the moſt favourable Interpretation will be put upon it. It is a *Comfort* that will remain with me in all my Misfortunes, that I ſerved her Majeſty *faithfully* and *dutifully*, in that eſpecially which ſhe had moſt at Heart, *relieving* her *People* from a *bloody* and *expenſive War*, and that I have always been too much an *Engliſhman* to ſacrifice the *Intereſt* of my Country, to any *foreign Ally* whatever, and it is for *this* Crime only that I am now *driven* from *thence*. You will hear more at large from me ſhortly.

'*Yours*, &c.'

If this was an exact Copy, or even if it contained the Subſtance of his Lordſhip's Letter, it is very evident that he thought his Life in the utmoſt Danger; and as no body underſtood parliamentary Management better, the carrying in that Aſſembly, which was to be the laſt Reſort of Juſtice, without

out

out Hearing, and without Evidence, a Cenſure of the late Peace, and of the Conduct of thoſe who made it, ſeemed to be ſuch a Specimen of their Sentiments as took from him all Hope. His Lordſhip, indeed, might have conſidered, that framing an *Addreſs*, and deciding on an *Impeachment* are very different Things, that the ſame Man may have ſeveral Opinions in Conſequence of his acting in different Capacities, and that Perſons often defend, as Orators, Points that they would conſider in another Light, if they were to pronounce as Judges. We need not, however, wonder, that in ſuch Circumſtances, Diſtinctions of this Kind did not enter his Head, or if they did, that he was not fond of riſking his Life and Fortune, upon Conjectures; more eſpecially if he had any ſuch Hints given him as are before mentioned, or this Letter aſſerts in ſtronger Terms, ſince they muſt have added great Weight to his Notion, that in Support of their own Sentiments, expreſſed in a ſolemn Addreſs to the Throne, his Fate would not be ſufficiently conſidered, by thoſe who were to require, or thoſe who were to give Judgment.

BUT

But this Manner of Proceeding, and the Murmurs of more vigorous Proceedings, had not the like Effect upon the reſt of the Queen's Servants, who ſeemed determined to wait the Event. About the Beginning of *April*, the Committee of Secrecy was appointed, and choſe *Robert Walpole*, Eſq; for their Chairman. They continued ſitting *de Die in Diem* for upwards of two Months, for it was not till the 9th of *June* that the Report was made. It was read a ſecond Time, the next Day, when Mr. *Walpole* moved to impeach the Lord Viſcount *Bolingbroke* of High-Treaſon, and other high Crimes and Miſdemeanors: At the ſame Time, Lord *Coningſby* moved to impeach the Earl of *Oxford*: On the 21ſt the Duke of *Ormond* was impeached of High-Treaſon, and the Earl of *Strafford* of high Crimes and Miſdemeanors. On the 9th of *July*, the Lord *Coningſby* carried up Articles of Impeachment of High-Treaſon, and other high Crimes and Miſdemeanors, againſt the Earl of *Oxford*, to the Bar of the Houſe of Lords, and demanded, that he might be ſequeſtred from Parlia-

Parliament, and committed to ſafe Cuſtody, agreeable to the Cuſtom (the only Law) of Parliament in ſuch Caſes.

UPON this followed ſeveral warm Debates in the Houſe of Peers, and two Queſtions of leſs Conſequence being carried againſt the Earl, they came at length to the main Queſtion, which was as to his Commitment. Upon this Occaſion that noble Perſon judged it not only expedient but neceſſary for him to ſpeak for himſelf; and as in the Courſe of theſe Letters, perhaps, I have given you a different Character of his Lordſhip thân you may have met with elſewhere, I think it neceſſary to tranſcribe his Speech upon this Occaſion, very critical in itſelf, which affected him very nearly, and ſpoken under as violent a Fit of the Gravel as a Man could well endure. It has been ſaid, that he was a Man of a cloudy Underſtanding, confuſed in his Ideas, and a perplexed Speaker; the Circumſtances beforementioned were not like to help his Oratory much, and yet I am content that you ſhall believe or diſbelieve what I have ſaid of him from his

his Speech. It was addreſſed to the Lord Chancellor *Cowper*, and conceived in the following Terms.

" My Lord,

" IT is a very great Misfortune for any " Man to fall under the Diſpleaſure of " ſo great and ſo powerful a Body as the " Commons of *Great-Britain*, and this " Misfortune is the heavier upon me, be- " cauſe I had, the Honour to be placed at " the Head of the late Miniſtry, and muſt " now, it ſeems, be made accountable for " all the Meaſures that were then purſued: " But on the other Hand, it is a very great " Comfort to me, under this Misfortune, " that I have the Honour to be a Member " of this auguſt Aſſembly: An Aſſembly " which always ſquares their Proceedings " and Judgment by the Rules of Honour, " Juſtice and Equity and is not to be " biaſſed by a Spirit of Party.

" My Lord,

" I could ſay a greal deal to clear my- " ſelf of the Charge which is brought

" againſt me: But as I now labour under
" an Indiſpoſition of Body, beſides the
" Fatigue of this long Sitting, I ſhall con-
" tract what I have to ſay within a very
" narrow Compaſs. This whole Accuſa-
" tion may, it ſeems, be reduced to the
" Negotiation and Concluſion of the Peace:
" That the Nation wanted a Peace nobody
" will deny, and I hope it will be as eaſily
" made out, that the Conditions of this
" Peace are as good as could be expected,
" conſidering the Circumſtances wherein
" it was made and the Backwardneſs and
" Reluctance which ſome of the Allies
" ſhewed to come into the Queen's Mea-
" ſures. This is certain, that this Peace,
" as bad as it is now repreſented, was ap-
" proved by two ſucceſſive Parliaments.
" It is indeed ſuggeſted againſt this Peace,
" that it was a ſeparate one, I hope, my
" Lord, it will be made appear that it was
" general, and that it was *France*, and not
" *Great-Britain* that made the firſt Steps
" towards a Negotiation. And, my Lord,
" I will be bold to ſay, that during my
" whole Adminiſtration, the Sovereign up-
" on

" on the Throne was loved at home, and " feared abroad.

" As to the Buſineſs of *Tournay*, which " is made a capital Charge, I can ſafely " aver that I had no Manner of Share in it, " and that the ſame was wholly tranſacted " by that unfortunate Nobleman, who " thought fit to ſtep aſide: But I dare ſay " in his Behalf, that if this Charge could be " proved, it would not amount to Treaſon. " For my own Part, as I always acted by " the immediate Directions and Commands " of the late Queen, and never offended " againſt any known Law, I am juſtified " in my own Conſcience, and unconcerned " for the Life of an inſignificant old Man. " But I cannot, without the higheſt Ingra- " titude, be unconcerned for the beſt of " Queens: A Queen who heaped upon " me Honours and Preferments, though " I never aſked for them; and, therefore, " I think myſelf under an Obligation to " vindicate her Memory, and the Meaſures " ſhe purſued, to my dying Breath.

" MY Lord,

" IF Miniſters of State, acting by the " immediate Commands of their Sovereign " are afterwards to be made accountable " for their Proceedings, it may one Day or " other be the Caſe of all the Members of " this auguſt Aſſembly: I don't doubt, " therefore, that out of Regard to your- " ſelves, your Lordſhips will give me an " equitable Hearing; and I hope that in " the Proſecution of this Enquiry, it will " appear, that I have merited not only the " Indulgence, but likewiſe the Favour of " the Government.

" MY Lord,

" I AM now to take my Leave of your " Lordſhip, and of this honourable Houſe, " perhaps, for ever! I ſhall lay down my " Life with Pleaſure in a Cauſe favoured " by my late dear Royal Miſtreſs. And " when I conſider that I am to be judged " by the Juſtice, Honour and Virtue of " my Peers, I ſhall acquieſce and retire

" with

" with great Content: And, my Lords,
" God's Will be done!"

He withdrew after making this pathetic and ſenſible Speech, which did not prevent his being committed that Night to the Cuſtody of the Black-Rod, and on the 16th of the ſame Month to the *Tower*. The Commons afterwards ſent up additional Articles, and his Lordſhip put in a very long and very explicit Anſwer to the Whole, to which the Commons replied. He continued, however, a cloſe Priſoner till the Middle of the *Summer*, 1717, when a Day was appointed for his Trial in *Weſtminſter-Hall*; but the Houſe of Peers reſolving, upon the Motion of the Lord *Harcourt*, that the Commons ſhould proceed firſt upon the eleventh Article which was that of High-Treaſon, and they refuſing to comply with that Method, this noble Lord, on the 1ſt of *July* in the Year beforementioned, was unanimouſly acquitted. Thus ended this Proſecution in reſpect to him!

In regard to the Lord Viſcount *Bolingbroke*,

broke, on the 6th of *Auguſt*, 1714, the Commons ſent up Articles of Impeachment againſt him, which were ſix in Number, and demanded that he ſhould be committed to ſafe Cuſtody; but being informed by a Meſſage from the Houſe of Lords, that he was not to be found, they, on the 10th of the ſame Month brought in a Bill to attaint him of High-Treaſon, in Caſe he did not ſurrender before the 10th of *September* then next enſuing; and this Bill having paſſed both Houſes, and received the Royal Aſſent, he became, after the Time elapſed, attainted, by which he loſt his Honours, and an Eſtate of about two Thouſand five Hundred Pounds a Year. The ſame Method was purſued in all Reſpects, againſt the Duke of *Ormond*, who alſo withdrew, though there were many, and amongſt them, ſome very warm and ſenſible Whigs, who thought he would not have been hurt if he had ſtayed; but ſome who, in his Opinion, were his Friends, believed the Contrary.

IT is very remarkable, that after all that had

had been ſuggeſted, there is not a Word ſaid of any *treaſonable* Correſpondencies in either of the Acts of Attainder. It was alſo conceived at this Time, that it was a dangerous Precedent to conſtrue a Correſpondence with the Queen's Enemies, with her Knowledge and Conſent, to be High-Treaſon, more eſpecially when it had been approved by two Parliaments. It was much inſiſted upon by the Earl of *Oxford* particularly, that if they had been in any Degree conſcious of Guilt, or of any Indiſcretion, that might be ſtrained into an Appearance of Guilt, they might eaſily have covered themſelves by an Act of Indemnity, which as a Proof of their Innocence, they affirmed they had never ſo much as aſked or deſired. We may farther remember, that in the ſhort Seſſion after the Queen's Death, in which theſe Miniſters had a great Influence; the civil Liſt was ſettled, the Pay of the *Hanover* Troops granted, and no other Mention made of the Pretender, than what was occaſioned by ſetting a very high Price upon his Head; from all which it was inferred,

that the reigning King, and his illuſtrious Family, had no Reaſon to take Offence againſt either a Tory Miniſtry, or a Tory Parliament. But the ſuperior Order of Stateſmen and their Friends, who had not yet had Leiſure to ſtudy *Engliſh* Parties, were entirely in another Way of thinking.

WHEN his Lordſhip was thus cut off from his Majeſty's Subjects, by an Act of Attainder, his reſentment led him to enter into the Service of the Pretender; but as he took theſe Engagements in a Heat, ſo he quickly repented of and quitted them. This is the Account he gives himſelf, and it is all the Account that you can expect to have of it. His Enemies, indeed, carry it a Step farther; they ſay that having provoked his late Majeſty by his Behaviour, he made his Peace by betraying him; but this he always poſitively denied, and put thoſe who aſſerted it upon the Proof of it. On the one Hand he never juſtified his own Conduct; ſo far from it, that he owned Reſentment, which was his only Motive, was a Motive of which he had Reaſon to be aſhamed, but he did not think it neceſ-

ſary

ſary to add to this Confeſſion, a Submiſſion to the other imputation, and therefore he averred it to be falſe. We can ſcarce expect to have a clear Account of theſe Matters in our Times; perhaps, there will never be any clear Account of them. But be that as it will, it certainly does Honour to the Compaſſion and Clemency of the late King *George*, that, notwithſtanding this raſh Step, and without his taking any ſuch Method as his Enemies ſuggeſt, he was graciouſly pleaſed to pardon him, or at leaſt to receive his humble Offers of Duty and Obedience, and to afford him, in Return, a Promiſe of Pardon. One of the brighteſt amongſt the Royal Virtues, is Mercy; and we can attribute no other Deſign to the noble Perſon of whom we are ſpeaking, than a Deſire to illuſtrate that of his late Majeſty in the higheſt Degree, when he declared, in the moſt expreſs and public Manner, that it was extended to him unaſked and unearned. We ſhall preſently ſee, that this was carried ſtill farther, with regard to the Extent of that Mercy, which his Majeſty, out of his mere Goodneſs, meant to ſhew him.

BUT there is some Difficulty in fixing the Time when this Event happened. The following Passage in one of his political Pieces, entitled, "a final Answer to "the Remarks on the *Craftsman*'s Vindi-"cation," may possibly bring us pretty near it. His Words are these:

"THE *Craftsman* said, *that the Mercy* "*of the late King was extended to the Gen-*"*tleman* we speak of, *unasked and un-*"*earned.* That it was *unearned the Re-*"*marker* thinks probable, and in thinking "so, he gives the Lie to all his *Fellow* "*Scribblers*, who have so often affirmed "the Contrary. That it was *unasked*, he "says, is a downright Falsehood. He "hath the *Journal Book of the House of* "*Commons* before him, and there he finds "*that the* House *was acquainted by his late* "*Majesty's Command, in* April, 1725, *that* "this Gentleman *had about* seven Years "*before made his humble Application and* "*Submission*, &c. *which his Majesty so far* "*accepted, as to give Encouragement to* "*hope for some future Mark of his Ma-*

"*jesty's*

" *jeſty's Favour and Goodneſs.*—In this he " exults, but here again the *Effrontery* and " *Falſhood* which he charges on others will " recoil on himſelf. Who drew this *Mi-* " *niſterial Meſſage*, I know not, nor how " far the Style of it may be neceſſary, ac- " cording to the Forms uſual on ſuch Occa- " ſions; but the *Remarker* might have " known, if he had conſulted even his " *Patrons*, that his Majeſty's Mercy had " been extended to *this Gentleman* two " Years before the *ſeven* there mentioned, " and that this Mercy did not conſiſt in " *Encouragement to hope for ſome future* " *Mark of his Majeſty's Favour, and Good-* " *neſs*, but in a gracious and abſolute Pro- " miſe of his Favour, *in the full Extent,* " *which the Circumſtances of that Gentle-* " *man required.* I may be the more bold " in affirming this Fact, becauſe the *noble* " *Lord*, who delivered the Meſſage I quote, " is ſtill alive, as ſome other Perſons are " to whom his late Majeſty was pleaſ- " ed to own that *this Meſſage* had been " delivered by his Order, and to ex-

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" preſs his gracious Intention conformably " to it."

BY comparing the Dates mentioned in this Paſſage, it ſeems that he received this Mark of the King's Mildneſs and Clemency ſome Time in the Year, 1716, and, perhaps, this will appear the more probable, if one conſiders, that upon the ſecond of *July*, in that Year, the King was graciouſly pleaſed, by his Letters Patents, to create his Father Sir *Henry St. John*, Baronet, Viſcount *St. John*, and Baron of *Batterſea*, by which the Loſs which the Family ſuffered by the Attainder was repaired. But by what Application, or through what Interceſſion theſe Favours were obtained, I am able to give you very little or no light. I have indeed heard, that an honourable Perſon then in a great Employment, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf as a General Officer in *Spain*, and who was afterwards created a Peer of this Realm, and was in high Favour with the King to the Time of his Death, had a very great Share therein; and from ſome probable

ble Circumſtances, I am inclined to believe that this is not altogether deſtitute of Truth. However, it was no leſs than nine Years, as I judge from a Letter written by Dean *Swift*, before he reaped the Fruit of his Majeſty's Indulgence, ſo far as to be able to return into this Kingdom, and to be put into a Condition of enjoying his Father's large Fortune, in Caſe he ſurvived him, as he did. He paſſed his Time while in *France*, partly in the Capital, and partly in the Country; for his firſt Lady being dead, he eſpouſed a Lady of great Merit, Niece to the famous Madame *de Maintenon*, and who was the Widow of the Marquis *de Villette*, with whom he had a very large Fortune, incumbered, however, with a long and troubleſome Law-ſuit. But with the Circumſtances of his private Life we have nothing to do. Such Enquiries might indeed gratify our Curioſity, but it will not be a Curioſity, which is laudable, becauſe no Man would approve ſuch a Diſpoſition in another to pry into his Affairs. His ſub-ſequent Writings, and particularly thoſe

thoſe which have occaſioned you this Trouble, very fully prove, that neither in his Exile nor in thoſe Excurſions, which afterwards for the Sake of Amuſement, Health, or Buſineſs he made into *France*, did he abandon himſelf to Indolence, or endeavour to remove the Remembrance of his Misfortunes, by running into ſuch a Variety of Amuſements as might occaſion a Diſſipation of his Ideas. On the Contrary it appears, that they were always collected, often reviewed, and that with all the Advantages acquired by mature Reflection and great Experience, he ſtill retained his former Sentiments, as to the Intereſt of his native Country in reſpect to foreign Affairs. But his Intereſt and his Inclination leading him to think of obtaining in an effectual Manner, the Benefits to which the King's Clemency gave him a Title, an Application was made on his Behalf to Parliament, as has been before hinted, and of which the following is a ſuccinct Account from the only authentic Vouchers in ſuch Caſes.

On *Tueſday*, the 20th of *April*, 1725, the then Lord *Finch* having offered a Petition of *Henry St. John*, late Viſcount *Bolingbroke*, to be preſented to the Houſe; Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, *Robert Walpole*, Eſq; ſignified upon this Motion, that he had received his Majeſty's Commands to acquaint the Houſe, "That the "Petitioner had ſeven Years ſince made "his humble Application and Submiſſion "to his Majeſty, with Aſſurances of Duty, "Allegiance and Fidelity, which his Ma"jeſty ſo far accepted, as to give him En"couragement to hope for ſome future "Marks of his Majeſty's Grace and Good"neſs, and that his Majeſty is ſatisfied "that the Petitioner's Behaviour has been "ſuch as convinces his Majeſty that he is "an Object of his Majeſty's Mercy, and "his Majeſty conſents that this Petition be "preſented to this Houſe." After which the ſaid Petition was brought up and read, ſetting forth, That the Petitioner is truly "concerned for his Offence, in not having "ſurrendered himſelf, purſuant to the "Directions of an Act of the firſt Year of

"his

" his Majeſty's Reign, whereby the Peti-
" tioner was attainted of High-Treaſon,
" and forfeited all his real and perſonal
" Eſtate, and by Reaſon thereof, had ſuf-
" fered very great Loſſes. That upon the
" Petitioner's Marriage, in 1700, Sir *Wal-*
" *ter St. John*, Baronet and the Right
" Honourable the Lord Viſcount *St. John*,
" the Petitioner's Grandfather and Father,
" together with the Petitioner, made a
" Settlement of their Family Eſtates, in the
" Counties of *Wilts*, *Surrey* and *Middle-*
" *ſex*, all which Premiſſes, except a very
" ſmall Part thereof, are now in the Poſ-
" ſeſſion of the Petitioner's Father, and the
" Petitioner cannot become intitled thereto
" for his Life, until after his Father's De-
" ceaſe: That the Petitioner hath in moſt
" humble and dutiful Manner made his Sub-
" miſſion to his Majeſty, and given his Ma-
" jeſty the ſtrongeſt Aſſurances of his invio-
" lable Fidelity, and of his Zeal for his Ma-
" jeſty's Service, and for the Support of the
" preſent happy Eſtabliſhment, which his
" Majeſty hath been moſt graciouſly pleaſed
" to accept, and praying that Leave may
" be

"be given to bring in a Bill, for enabling "the Petitioner and the Heirs Male of his "Body, notwithſtanding his ſaid Attainder, "to take and enjoy the ſaid ſettled Eſtate, "according to the Limitations of the ſaid "Settlement, or other Aſſurances therein "mentioned, and for enabling the Petitioner to hold and enjoy any perſonal "Eſtate, or Effects, whereof he now is, "or hereafter ſhall be poſſeſſed, and to "inveſt the ſame in the Purchaſe of any "real or perſonal Eſtate within this King-"dom." After the reading of this Petition, the Commons were ſent for to attend his Maieſty in the Houſe of Lords, and being returned to their own Houſe, the Lord *Finch* moved, *that a* Bill *be brought in according to the* Prayer *of the late Viſcount* Bolingbroke's *Petition*. This Motion was ſeconded by Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, who having repeated Part of what he had already laid before the Houſe by the King's Command in the Petitioner's Behalf, added, he was fully ſatisfied, that he had ſufficiently atoned for his paſt Offences, and therefore deſerved the Favour of that Houſe,

Houſe, ſo far as to enable him to enjoy the Family Inheritance that was ſettled upon him, which, according to the Opinion of the beſt Lawyers, he could not do by Virtue of his Majeſty's moſt gracious Pardon, without an Act of Parliament; the Truth of which was confirmed by the Attorney and Sollicitor General.

UPON this, there followed a very warm Debate, as ſeveral Members were extreamly againſt this Act of Indulgence; whereas others, in a very pathetic Manner, inſiſted upon the Reſpect due to the Royal Meſſage, and the Impropriety of labouring to defeat his Majeſty's Mercy and Goodneſs, which had in Effect been only exaggerated by the ſtrongeſt Arguments offered on the other Side. It was at length carried upon the Queſtion, by a Majority of one Hundred and ſeventeen, and a Bill purſuant to the Prayer of the Petition, was accordingly brought in by the noble Lord who made the Motion, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer. On the 30th of the ſame Month, the Bill was read a ſecond Time, and

and committed to a Committee of the whole Houſe, who were ordered to receive proper Clauſes for preſerving the Inheritance of the Family Eſtate to the Iſſue Male of *Henry* Lord Viſcount *St. John*, in Caſe his eldeſt Son ſhould die without ſuch Iſſue. On the 3d of *May*, the Houſe reſolved itſelf into a Committee upon the ſaid Bill; the Lord *William Pawlet* moved, that a Clauſe might be added to diſable the late Lord Viſcount *Bolingbroke* to ſit in either Houſe of Parliament, or to enjoy any Place of Truſt or Profit under his Majeſty, but this being oppoſed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, it was upon the Queſtion rejected by a Majority of ſeventy. On the 5th of *May*, the ingroſſed Bill was read a third Time, paſſed, and ſent up to the Lords. It met, alſo, with ſome Oppoſition there, and upon the paſſing it there was one or two Proteſts, by about Half a Dozen Lords; and yet by the End of the Month, it was carried through, and, with the reſt of the Bills paſſed that Seſſions, received the Royal Aſſent.

IN the Year following this Tranſaction, he thought proper to embark again in political Diſputes, and wrote during the ſhort Remainder of that Reign, and for many Years under the preſent, with great Freedom and Boldneſs againſt the Meaſures that were purſued. This drew upon him, as might be naturally expected, ſome perſonal Attacks, in Anſwer to which, after acknowledging with Reſpect and Humility the late King's Mercy and Goodneſs, he aſcribed all the Effects he had met with from it *ſolely* to the King, affirming at the ſame Time, that he had Reaſon, if ever Man had Reaſon, to diſclaim all Obligation to the *Miniſter*; to whom, he ſaid, it was owing, that he did not receive *all* the *Effects* of Royal Mercy that were intended him; but what was intended by this, or what he farther expected, we no where find.

I HAVE not the leaſt Inclination, and as little Capacity, to enter into this Diſpute. Great Men have very often ſtrong Reſentments, and when theſe have riſen to a certain Height, they are not to be either calmed

calmed or cooled. It becomes a Point of Honour to purſue them, and as every great Man, or great Genius never fails to have a Crowd of Dependants, who affect to be thought *Mr[illegible]* by applauding *his*; ſo thoſe who ſtand without the Influence of this *Vortex*, contemplate the Motion of theſe Syſtems at their Leiſure, and think themſelves at Liberty to remark on their *Phænomena*, without regarding any Thing but the Truth of their Remarks.

THIS Stateſman, who was now become more able to aſſiſt in this than in any former Oppoſition, and who from the Circumſtances he was in, took that Share in it to which he was beſt ſuited, ſoon diſtinguiſhed himſelf by a Multitude of Pieces, which, as they are in every Body's Hands, I need not mention particularly nor ſhould I have mentioned them at all, but for the Sake of a few Obſervations, which I think may explain and illuſtrate the Character I have attempted to draw for your Information, without Injury to his Memory of whom I am ſpeaking, and who with all his Paſſions and

and all his Faults, will be acknowledged by Posterity in general, as I think he is by the Majority of the present Age, to have been in many Respects one of the most extraordinary Persons [redacted] it.

WE generally, and indeed justly, prefer such Writers as have an Opportunity of being practically as well as speculatively acquainted with the Subjects on which they write. *Demosthenes* and *Cicero* were Statesmen as well as Orators. *Cæsar* was conspicuous for his Learning as well as his Abilities in the Camp and in the Cabinet: His Commentaries are a Proof of it, and the Critic spoke truly, who said, that he wrote with the same Spirit with which he fought. *Machiavel* was alike versed in Business and in Books, and that is the true Reason why his Merit is confessed even by those who abhor his Maxims. In our own Country, the Writings of Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and the noble Historian are justly esteemed at a higher Rate than those of Men who had not the like Opportunities of penetrating to the very Bottom of the Springs

Springs and Cauſes of thoſe Tranſactions, which they undertook to examine and to criticiſe as well as to record. From the very ſame Motives ſome of the Works of this ingenious Writer have merited, and in all Probability will continue to merit Attention and Applauſe. He was a Stateſman, an Orator, a Leader of a Party, was brought into Buſineſs early, purſued it through the moſt vigorous Part of his Life, enjoyed the Smiles, endured the Frowns of Fortune, and was beſides a Man of Learning, reflection and Wit. With all theſe Qualities, and I think his Enemies will hardly deny that he had them all, he could ſcarce write any Thing that did not deſerve to be read, and to be ſtudied. But When I ſay this, I confine myſelf to the Subjects to which theſe Characters belong, for he ſometimes made Excurſions into others, of which he neither was, nor could be expected to be a perfect Maſter, and upon them he wrote worſe than other Men. I ſhould be ſorry that you took your Politicks from Prieſts, but I ſhould be in more Pain if I thought you in any Danger of receiving your Religion from such a Politician.

from a Politician. I give you this Hint, and I need ſay no more, for true Religion is the only Baſis upon which human Happineſs can be founded. He who builds upon it, as the great Author of it truly ſaid, builds upon a Rock, againſt which Storms and Tempeſts beat in vain. He who builds upon another, will find it ſooner or later a ſandy Foundation, and great will be his Fall. ——— But to return to his Writings.

THE great Uſe he makes of Hiſtory, is a ſignal Inſtance of his having a true Genius for Politicks; for thoſe are either Pedants, or Scholars of a lower Form, who endeavour to illuſtrate general Maxims from hiſtorical Facts, which they cannot be ſaid ſo properly to bring as to bend them. Our noble Author takes quite another Road, and extracts his Maxims from Hiſtory, chiefly from our own Hiſtory. *Machiavel* did the ſame by the *Roman* Hiſtory, and wrote a Hiſtory of his own Country, that carries in it a Vein of political Reaſoning, obvious to any competent Judge.

But

But when I commend this Kind of Writing, and inſtance him as a very maſterly Writer in this Way; I am very far from intending that you ſhould implicitly embrace whatever he delivers. It is right to read an eminent Author with Reverence, it is wrong to carry this Notion higher, and venerate the Productions of any human Pen as if they were ſacred Scripture. The ableſt Writers, and more eſpecially political Writers, are Men of like Natures, and of like Paſſions with ourſelves, and, conſequently are far from being infallible. Our Author frequently gives us Inſtances of this; he corrects the noble Hiſtorian, for giving ſuch a Character of the firſt Duke of *Buckingham* as is incompatible with his Actions. It may be you will find himſelf ſometimes warping our Hiſtory for his own Convenience, and leſs ſollicitous to repreſent paſt Events truly, than under Colour of relating them, to point out the Secret of ſome far more modern Tranſactions. You muſt, therefore, take Care not to be the Dupe of ſuch Inſinuations; but muſt keep your Eyes open, and Attention awake, remem-

bering always, that whether you adopt or differ from his Notions, you are ſure of being improved by the Peruſal. Without this independent Spirit, there is nothing more dangerous than to take Books of this Kind into your Hand. There is no Kind of Servitude ſo deſpicable, as the Slavery of the Underſtanding. Be ſure then to take nothing upon Truſt, ſift the Evidence of Facts to the Bottom, conſider what other Writers have ſaid, obſerve the Connection of his Remarks, and don't be captivated with great Names. Study well his Method of Writing, review his Arguments ſtrictly, queſtion his Concluſions freely, and bear it conſtantly in your Mind, that when I put theſe Books into your Hands, it is that you may judge of the Sentiments they contain; and not like a School-boy to learn your Leſſon.

THESE Cautions you muſt, alſo, take along with you in reading his little Stories, Viſions and Allegories, which if you do not examine with Circumſpection, you may ſometimes miſs his true Meaning, and where

where you reach that, may not be always in Poſſeſſion of the Truth. If you complain of this, as being an arduous and difficult Taſk, and a Fatigue to which you are not willing to be expoſed, you muſt be content to quit this Kind of Reading. But if you take this Reſolution, be ſure to impute it to the right Cauſe, that is, to your own Indolence, and not to the Author's Obſcurity. Men of ſhallow Underſtandings, circumſcribed Knowledge, and who are unacquainted with the Arts of Writing, will be puzzled and perplexed even in their Endeavours at Perſpicuity. But be aſſured that an Author, who has Parts, Learning and ſtrong Senſe, if he is ever dark, he is dark by Deſign, tells Stories where he dares not relate Facts, gives you a Dream becauſe he cannot give you a Deſcription, and repreſents in Allegory, what the Circumſtances of the Times will not allow him to expreſs any other Way. Thoſe who diſlike the Spirit he endeavours to raiſe, will treat this as a Libel; thoſe who are in the ſame Sentiment, will ſee nothing but what is laudable in this latent Satire.

To distinguish which is in the Right, is the Business of a judicious Reader; but previous to this, he must distinguish the apparent and the concealed Meaning. A Facility of doing this, will be of great Use in reading all Polemical Writings; for they are mistaken, who fancy that the Chemists only have their Cabala, for in Fact it belongs more or less to most other Sciences, to Politicks especially, and to Politicks in this Nation particularly. I should be sorry to see you employ your Pen in this Way, but to understand a Parable, and to know the Sense of hidden Sayings, is very frequently a Thing of great Use. For now and then you will meet with Strokes of this Kind, in Books where you may very little suspect them.

IN the Prosecution of this last Controversy, he found himself obliged from the Beginning to recommend the Earl of *Oxford*'s old Scheme, under the new Title of a Coalition of Parties; for the Tories were by this Time out of any

Condition

Condition to aim at Places and Power, except as Auxiliaries; and in doing this many of them acted but with a bad Grace, more eſpecially towards the latter End of the Struggle, when they began to ſuſpect the Fidelity of their new Friends, and were a little ſqueamiſh on behaving in direct Oppoſition to their old Principles. His Lectures, however, were the principal Means of keeping People together; and it muſt be confeſſed to his Credit, as a political Writer, that he managed the whole Affair with the utmoſt Dexterity, and very happily threw out a Syſtem of Policy, ſo curiouſly contrived, that a Man might enter into, and purſue the publick Buſineſs of the Nation; if with any Propriety, a Controverſy carried on for the Sake of Power, by any Set of Men, in any Place whatever, may be ſo called; without deſerting, in his own Opinion at leaſt, his private Notions in Government. He was very ſenſible, however, that though this was the beſt Expedient, yet it was no more than an Expedient; and that how

well ſoever the Threads of Party might be twiſted, they would infallibly ſeparate, and ſhew themſelves when the Line of Oppoſition was cut. He was too wiſe, too well verſed in Mankind not to ſee it, and he did ſee it; for thus he exclaimed when that Cord was in a Manner between the Sheers: "I expected "little from the principal Actors that "tread the Stage at preſent. They are "divided not ſo much as it has ſeemed, "and as they would have it believed, "about Meaſures; the true Diviſion is "about their different Ends. Whilſt "the Miniſter was not hard puſhed, "nor the Proſpect of ſucceeding to him "near, they appeared to have but one "End, the Reformation of the Govern-"ment. The Deſtruction of the Mi-"niſter was purſued only as a Prelimi-"nary, but of eſſential and indiſpen-"ſable Neceſſity to that End. But when "his Deſtruction ſeemed to approach, "the Object of his Succeſſion interpoſed "to the Sight of many, and the Re-"formation of the Government was no "longer

" longer their Point of View. They " divided the ſkin, at leaſt in their " Thoughts, before they had taken the " Beaſt, and the common Fear of hunt- " ing him down for others, made them " all faint in the Chace."

But though he had too much Senſe, and too much Experience to be deceived, he had too high a Spirit to deſpair. Almoſt in the ſame Breath with that Soliloquy, he ſubjoins this Exhortation to his Pupil. " When I ſay " that I expect little from the principal " Actors that tread the Stage at preſent, " I am far from applying to all of " them, what I take to be true of the " far greateſt Part. There are Men a- " mong them who certainly intend the " Good of their Country, and whom I " love and honour for that Reaſon. But " theſe Men have been clogged, or miſ- " led, or over-borne by others, and ſeduced " by natural Temper to Inactivity, have " taken any Excuſe, or yielded to any " Pretence that favoured it. That they

" ſhould rouſe, therefore, in themſelves,
" or in any one elſe, the Spirit they
" have ſuffered, nay, helped to die a-
" way, I do not expect. I turn my
" Eyes from the Generation that is go-
" ing off, to the Generation that is
" coming on the Stage. I expect Good
" from them, and from none of them
" more than from you." Thus at the very Moment, you would think he had loſt all his Hopes, he diſcovers that he had conceived freſh, that he was content to vary his Direction, and to ſeek in a new Way, what could not be reached by the old. He explains this more fully at the Cloſe of another little Piece. " Let me, therefore, conclude
" by repeating, ſays he, that Diviſion
" has cauſed all the Miſchief we lament,
" that Union can alone retrieve, and that
" a great Advance towards this Union,
" was the Coalition of Parties, ſo hap-
" pily begun, ſo ſucceſsfully carried on,
" and of late ſo unaccountably neglected,
" to ſay no worſe. But let me add,
" that this Union can never be com-
" pleat,

" pleat, till it become an Union of the " Head with the Members, as well as " of the Members with one another, " and that ſuch an Union can never be " expected till Patriotiſm fills the Throne, " and Faction be baniſhed from the Ad- " miniſtration. " At the Winding-up of his *Idea* of a *Patriot King*, after a glorious Proſpect of this, or indeed of any Country under ſuch a Monarch, his laſt Raptures are theſe. " Thoſe who live " to ſee ſuch happy Days, and to act " in ſo glorious a Scene, will, perhaps, " call to Mind, with ſome Tenderneſs " of Sentiment, when he is no more, " a Man, who contributed his Mite to " carry on ſo good a Work, and who " deſired Life for nothing, ſo much as " to ſee a King of *Great-Britain* the " moſt popular Man in his Country, " and a Patriot King at the Head of " an united People." What he meant, perhaps, as a *Compliment*, is become a Kind of *Prophecy*. It may ſerve as a monumental Inſcription; if it had been more extended, it would have been a

Sort of Funeral Oration of himſelf upon himſelf. It ſeems, he delighted to the laſt, in regarding diſtant Proſpects, and ſhut out the Idea of Diſſolution, by contemplating the Effects of his political Doctrines in Ages beyond his own. In the ſame Way *Epicurus* comforted himſelf under a Fit of the Stone; the like Turn of Mind is diſcoverable in *Cicero*, and others I could mention. Indeed if this were all, if Exiſtence ceaſed with the laſt Gaſp, the Obſervation at the Head of my Letter would be true, and in this Senſe is actually true of him, whatever ſome may fancy, and others may affect to fancy; for while either *Faction* or *Freedom* remains in this Country, this great Man's Writings will have their Merit and their Uſe.

THIS they always had; but what I would be underſtood to mean is, that they will have it now in an advanced and extraordinary Degree. Death, in removing him out of the Reach of Envy, and the Rage

Rage of Jealouſy, has extended the Utility, and fixed the Immortality of his Writings. Their Reputation will now reſt upon their own Merit, without ſuffering any Diminution from the Failings of their Author. Failings he had; and who has them not? Were the Miniſters he oppoſed without Failings? But theſe did not infect his Writings. Thoſe were Products of his cooler Hours, and ſhew us the noble Efforts of a great Genius, when conducted and ſupported by Experience. They open to us, all the ſecret Springs, and hidden Mechaniſm, not of our Conſtitution, for that is nobly plain, and gracefully ſimple; but of the executive Powers, and the Adminiſtration of Government; how theſe may be diſordered, ſpoiled and broken; how this may be diſcerned from the Motions of the MACHINE, and how theſe Errors may be repaired or prevented. While he lived, his Teſtimony was ever impeached by a Suggeſtion, that his Aim was to have the Direction of the PENDULUM. That can be ſaid no more. All his Skill, all his Acuteneſs, all his Sagacity are now

uſeleſs

uſeleſs to the ARTIST: But we are conſoled for this, by the Conſideration that they may be ſo much the more uſeful to his and our Country.——My Pen has been employed in ſhewing you this is no Panegyrick; but a juſt Tribute to Merit, and the reſt of the World will gradually learn this from the Writings themſelves, which will be now read with leſs Prejudice and more Reſpect. His Writings are the MONUMENTS which he conſecrated to Poſterity; and though he is now no more, THESE will laſt FOREVER.

IF, after this, you expect any farther Character of him from me, I know my own Abilities too well to make the Attempt: But here is one drawn by an able and noble Pen, and which appeared about the Time he died, or, at leaſt, a very little before it. "Lord *Bolingbroke* had "early made himſelf Maſter of Books "and Men: But in his firſt Career of "Life, being immerſed at once in Buſineſs and Pleaſure, he ran through

"a Variety

" a Variety of Scenes in a ſurprizing " and eccentric Manner. When his Paſ- " ſions ſubſided by Years and Diſappoint- " ments, and when he improved his ra- " tional Faculties by more grave Studies " and Reflection, he ſhone out in his Retire- " ment, with a Luſtre peculiar to himſelf, " though not ſeen by vulgar Eyes. The " gay Stateſman was changed into a Phi- " loſopher, equal to any of the Sages of " Antiquity. The Wiſdom of *Socrates*, " the Dignity and Eaſe of *Pliny*, and the " Wit of *Horace* appeared in all his Writ- " ings and Converſation." You cannot deſire a Picture more highly finiſhed!

He ſurvived his Father, *Henry*, Lord, Viſcount *St. John*, nine Years and ſeven Months; but he did not ſurvive to his Age by eleven Years; though at the Time of his Deceaſe, he wanted but one of Fourſcore. He out-lived his ſecond Lady, and all his Brothers. He reſided for ſeveral Years, and breathed his laſt in the ancient Family Seat at *Batterſea*; a Circumſtance he earneſtly wiſhed, and took Care, by his laſt

laſt Will and Teſtament, to ſecure his Writings from Oblivion or Interpolation. To theſe Particulars, when I add that he died *November* the fifteenth, 1751, I hope I have fully diſcharged my Promiſe, and given you all the Lights you can reaſonably expect, with regard to his perſonal and political Hiſtory. I am confident that I have done it with great Impartiality, as I ſhould be very ſorry either to injure the Dead or the Living in your Opinion, which I take to be the moſt unworthy Method of repaying the Confidence repoſed in their Seniors, by young Men, who are generally without Art themſelves, and, therefore, not ſuſpicious of it in others.

BEFORE I cloſe this Epiſtle, long as it is, permit me, at parting, to give you a little good Advice; for that you will hear this patiently, believe it cordial, and uſe it as Occaſion requires, is the only Reward I have ſtipulated for my Pains. In the firſt Place, then, be true and ſteady in your *old faſhioned Belief*, and do not part with your *Bible*

Bible becauſe you cannot perfectly underſtand the Chronology or the Geography of it. The main Points, thoſe that teach us to live happily here, and to hope more perfect Happineſs hereafter, are plain enough; and though you were taught all this in the Nurſery, give me Leave to aſſure you, that it will give you much more Comfort on your Death-bed, than any of the new-fangled Opinions. This Principle once fixed, there is no Fear of your being miſled in your Notions of *Patriotiſm*, for you will never be brought to think, that you may ſeem one Thing, and be another; that it is worth while, for the Sake of any Thing that can be enjoyed in this tranſitory State, to forego Peace of Mind, and the Pleaſure of being Independant. In Reality, it is the forgetting we are not always to remain here, that induces Men to do what would ſcarce be excuſable, if it really was ſo. But perhaps, you may have Children, and you would be glad to leave them, —— the honeſt Reputation, and the fair Example of their Father, I hope: I am ſure you can leave them nothing better.

IT is poſſible you may think it your *Duty*, to engage in Scenes of *public Life*. I will not deny that it may be ſo, but give me Leave to put you in Mind, that this Notion ought to be very ſtrictly ſifted; for I have known many a young Man take the *Whiſper* of his own *Vanity* for the *Voice* of his *Duty*. Be ſure, therefore, to be very clear in this Point, and be, alſo, ſure of another, that it never can be a Man's *Duty* to *undertake* what he has not *Abilities* to *perform*. Theſe I am perſuaded are in your *Power*, but let them be in your *Poſſeſſion* too before you embark in *Buſineſs*. To *ſerve* the *Public* is a noble Thing. Very true! and, except the *Service* of GOD, it is the only *Service* that is *noble*. Be ſure, therefore, if ever you enter into this *Service*, that you never let it eſcape your Memory, you are a *Servant*, and that you cannot be an *honeſt Servant*, if you either neglect or betray your *Truſt*. But as *Service* implies Dependance and Confinement, you will be ſure, when you have *done* your *Duty*, to deſire to become your *own* Maſter again.

If

If you do not feel *this Inclination*, you may rely upon it, that you are not *in Service*; but have ſome Way or other changed *Stations*, and are no longer under the Dominion of thoſe Principles upon which you ſet out; and to which, therefore, if you are prudent, you will make Haſte to return; for if you do not, I can eaſily foreſee, the next Diſcovery you make, will be, that you are in ſome *other Service*, which, in the End, will beget *Diſquiet* and *Diſcredit*, from which, if it be not your *own Fault*, you may be always *free*: Your Anceſtors having, by their Attention and Kindneſs, left you without any Care but that of being *true* to *yourſelf*.

THERE are indeed Times, I heartily pray you may never ſee ſuch, when the *Voice* of *Duty* is too *loud*, and too *diſtinct*, either *not* to be *heard*, or to be *miſtaken*. Times when the *Conſtitution* is in *Danger*, and when no Man worthy the name of a *Briton* can be *tame* and *unconcerned*. In ſuch *Times*, if you ſhould ever ſee them, follow the *Dictates* of your *Conſcience*, and act like a *Man*;

Man; for when the *Houſe* is on *Fire*, it is not only rank *Cowardice*, but downright *Folly* to ſneak into a *Cloſet*, and fancy you are *ſafe*, becauſe you do not *ſee* the *Flames*. In the Day of Tranquillity, the Character of a *loyal Subject*, and an *honeſt Gentleman* is *Fame ſufficient*: If to this, when called to it by your Country, you add that of a *diſintereſted* and *able* SENATOR, I look upon your *Happineſs* ſecure, and your *Reputation* at its *full Extent*.

FINIS.

OCT 24 1930